

# AMERICA

## *British Constitution For America?*

COMMENTS BY:

Senator LaFollette      Representative Voorhis  
Gerard F. Yates



Tumult in the Antilles . . . . . Richard Pattee  
Moral Issues in Housing . . . . . William J. Gibbons  
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# COMMENT ON THE WEEK

**"The Invisible Guest."** Just before he left to survey famine conditions in Europe, Herbert Hoover, chairman of the Famine Emergency Committee, issued a moving radio appeal to the people of America to imagine, as they sit down to their family meals, that they are entertaining "an invisible guest," one of Europe's and the world's starving. What they will put aside in minor sacrifices will then, indeed, swell the tide that must reach the needy countries during this immediate crisis, which will run about four months—until harvests begin. Happily, government action to increase our surpluses in wheats and fats is beginning tardily to move. It is reported that box-car bottlenecks have been broken; the Interstate Commerce Commission has given an overall priority to wheat shipments; the set-aside of meats for foreign shipments has been raised; international shipping controls will be continued for sending UNRRA relief to Europe and Asia; an order limiting the shipping of U. S. set-aside supplies to American vessels has been lifted—vessels of six nations may now be employed. Much, however, remains to be done officially. Effective measures must be inaugurated to curtail the amount of grain being fed to cattle and poultry; this will entail price readjustments and will be dependent on the extension of the OPA; it will also call for price ceilings to be set for the period of the emergency. All this will provoke debate and contention; it is hoped that the Government, having moved too quickly in the lifting of rationing, will establish these necessary controls with commendable speed. There is no question that the people of the country are deeply moved by the plight of the famine-threatened. The individual will gladly make the sacrifices for "the invisible guest"; for him, likewise, the Government will have to make what may be unpleasant decisions.

**What Have Sacrifices Cost?** Actually, the rather selfish fear that prompted some to say at the inauguration of UNRRA that this country ought not be the "sucker" and starve itself to feed the world, has proved groundless. What have you actually given up? State Department releases show that, for the year ending August, 1945, the average American family sacrificed for shipment abroad: one-half ounce of meat; one quart of milk; three and one-half pounds of beans and peas; ten ounces of fish; one and one-third pounds of lard; one and one-fifth pounds of sugar; two pounds of flour; one and one-half cakes of toilet soap; one-third cake of laundry soap. This was a tiny price to pay for the immense good that resulted; greater good could have been done, to be sure, but the testimony is overwhelming that, without UNRRA, millions would have perished and the outlook for the rising generation, miserable as it is, would have been one of blank, numb despair. Further personal, and official, sacrifices will be a small price to pay to prevent famine—as Anne O'Hare McCormick remarks in a splendid column in the New York Times for March 18—from becoming the invisible guest at every table where statesmen sit today. "If they wait long enough," she says, "famine may preside at the peace table."

**Call to Catholics.** Very opportune at this moment is the appeal of the Bishops of the United States for support of their War Emergency and Relief Committee. In most of the churches of the nation, on Laetare Sunday, March 31, the appeal will be read. We American Catholics, of all people in the world, should be most generous towards the

starving, suffering millions who have borne the full fury of war's destruction. The Bishops' Committee helps not only these, but refugees in the United States as well. Moreover, it supports the seminary in New Mexico where priests, forbidden by the laws of their own land to be educated, are trained for Old Mexico. To give to the Bishops' Committee is to aid the material and spiritual rehabilitation of the world.

**CIO Report on Russia.** The CIO delegation which visited the Soviet Union for a week last October was an interesting collection of trade unionists and followers of the Communist Party "line." It was a foregone conclusion, then, that the report of their junket to President Philip Murray and the rest of the CIO executive board would be a consciously colorless affair, a document designed to give offense to as few as possible and to perpetuate the fiction of unity in the CIO. That this objective was fairly well accomplished will be clear to anyone who takes the trouble to read the report. For the most part it is simple narrative, a story of visits to several plants in Moscow and Leningrad and of interviews with various officials. There is a good deal of information on wages and hours, social security, the function of Soviet trade unions; but whoever wrote the report was careful to disclaim responsibility for most of the data. There regularly occur in the text phrases like the following: "Mr. Taranichev informed us," "Mr. Burbonov said," "according to Mr. Stepanov." This was obviously a prudent procedure, since the Soviet informants seem to have put some "big ones" over on them, such as the story that the Kirov (formerly the Putilov) plant "produced little over a century except cannon balls and handcuffs." The pro-Soviet bloc in the CIO was propitiated with a disarming statement about Soviet trade unions: "We found parallels in

## THIS WEEK

COMMENT ON THE WEEK.....	645
Washington Front.....	Wilfrid Parsons 647
Underscorings .....	A. P. F. 647
ARTICLES	
Tumult in the Antilles:	
Jamaica .....	Richard Pattee 648
British Constitution for	
America?.....	Robert M. LaFollette, Jr.
... Jerry Voorhis.....	Gerard F. Yates 650
The Moral Issues in	
Housing.....	William J. Gibbons 652
EDITORIALS .....	654
UNO Meets Again . . .	Philippine Plight . . .
Ruthenian "Apostasy" . . .	Priests and Politics
LITERATURE AND ART.....	656
Dancing-Days.....	Sister Mary Jeremy
Dublin Letter.....	Kathleen O'Brennan
BOOKS .....	REVIEWED BY
A Catholic Looks at the World....	John LaFarge 658
The Intruders.....	Harold C. Gardiner 659
United for Freedom: Cooperatives and	
Christian Democracy.....	William J. Gibbons 660
THEATRE.....	FILMS.....
CORRESPONDENCE.....	PARADE 662
	THE WORD 663



the functioning of labor unions in both countries." Not a word about the official character of the Soviet unions, their inability to strike, the impossibility of any criticism of Stalin and the gang at the top. On the other hand, the pro-Americans in the CIO were placated with the admission that Soviet production is inefficient, and by the whopping confession "that it is absolutely necessary to raise a standard of living that is low compared with American standards." Reading the staid report, one can only regret that some of the "unofficial" reports cannot be made public, but must be passed along by word of mouth. They are much more exciting.

**Behind the Iron Curtain.** As if to disarm criticism, the CIO report on the Soviet "paradise" concludes with this paragraph:

The peace and prosperity of our countries and of the world depend not only upon the cooperation of governments but even more upon the understanding and friendship which may be fostered between the working and common people of all countries. The CIO sent our delegation to the USSR to promote this purpose, and our visit has added to our determination to continue its promotion in the future in every way we can.

This purpose is laudable, as is the CIO suggestion for inter-changing students and workers. Until the iron curtain which the Soviet dictatorship has drawn tightly around Russia and her unwilling satellites can be lifted, there is little chance of fostering friendship and understanding between the American and Russian peoples. But the CIO's determination to pursue a policy of cooperation supposes, very naively, it seems to us, that Stalin is interested in lifting the iron curtain, or in friendship with the democracies of the West. If the world outside the Soviet sphere of influence is necessarily hostile because it is capitalistic, as Stalin himself said only a few weeks ago, then is there not a possibility that "vodka visitors" may be used by Moscow for purposes which they would angrily condemn? The CIO delegates were not "vodka visitors," at least in the ordinary sense, but their visit to Russia, like all similar junkets, was strictly chaperoned. Suppose it is true, as several first-rate authorities say, that somewhere between ten and forty million Russians are today performing forced labor in concentration camps, would the honest and sincere people in the CIO want to contribute in any way to the perpetuation of such a tyranny? Obviously they would not. Before pursuing, then, their present policy toward Russia, CIO leaders must make sure that they are not being used by the Soviet dictatorship.

**Truth About Czech Catholics.** Communist devices in the field of religious news from Prague are vigorously shown up in a letter sent to the National Catholic Welfare Conference by V. M. Myslivec, well known N.C.W.C. correspondent. Protesting against a picture drawn recently of Czech Catholicism by Maurice Hindus, in the New York *Herald Tribune*, Mr. Myslivec points out: 1) It is a mistake

to speak of the Czech Popular Party as a thoroughly Catholic party, and its publications, such as *People's Democracy*, *Obzory* ("Horizons") as Catholic papers. Before the war this may have been true, but today it operates, like many other Christian democratic parties in Europe, on a wider platform. It is friendly to Catholics, not anti-Catholic, but not "Catholic." 2) It is entirely false to say: "Czech Catholics are the most radical Catholics in the world." It may be said that the Popular Party is moderately radical, but Czech Catholics as a whole are anxiously concerned about the further existence of private schools, conducted by the religious Orders. These have already been nationalized in Slovakia, whose Catholics have protested strongly against such a practical persecution. The actual Catholic papers of the Czechs—entirely non-political—warn against precipitate nationalization, official propaganda for Sunday work, press invectives against the Holy Father, exclusion of religious programs from the Prague Radio Station. 3) Mr. Myslivec also warns against the false impression as to the opinion of the Czech-Slovak clergy that has been created by the sayings and doings of certain individual priests—in Bohemia and Slovakia—who are notorious for their Communist leanings. Since similar propaganda tactics were resorted to by the Nazis, it is time the American public should be alive to them.

**Attack on Price Controls.** If some shrewd conspirator were plotting at the present moment to torpedo the American capitalistic system, he would concentrate on promoting a runaway price inflation. This would have the immediate effect of working severe hardship on the vast majority of American people and tend to turn them against a system which so brutally subordinates public welfare to private greed. In the long run, when the inevitable reaction would occur and prices would hit the toboggan, millions of workers would be unemployed and hundreds of thousands of farmers and small businessmen would be bankrupt. Thus would the stage be set for revolutionary changes that would go much farther than the mild reforms of the so-called New Deal. Our hypothetical conspirator would not, of course, openly advocate inflation. Quite the contrary. He would attack the OPA on the grounds that it is promoting inflation. He would say that price controls, by endangering profits and thereby destroying incentive, are impeding production, which alone can save the nation from inflation. He would make his appeal in the name of the capitalistic system itself, with a lot of oratorical flag-waving thrown in for good measure. He would call for a "free market" and for "price control by the American housewife." Presented in this way, the attack on price controls would have a good chance to succeed, since it would commend itself to many businessmen and to the inflation-minded farm bloc in Congress. Now the dismal fact happens to be that the National Association of Manufacturers is actually acting today as our imagined conspirator would act. Were it not for the continued support of price controls by other business groups, notably by the relatively enlightened Committee for Economic Development, the situation would be almost hopeless. Throughout the short history of liberal capitalism, it is, indeed, true that some of the worst enemies of the system have been capitalists themselves.

**Aid to Collective Bargaining.** If a small minority of reactionary diehards and our noisy domestic Communists are excepted, it will be generally admitted that free collective bargaining is one of the cornerstones of our democratic way of life. It is no exaggeration to say that a breakdown

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in collective bargaining would have the most serious consequences imaginable not only to our economic system but to our political institutions as well. For this reason we heartily welcome, especially in these days of industrial unrest, a project recently undertaken by the industrial relations division of the Institute of Social Order at Rockhurst College in Kansas City, Missouri. With a view to removing some of the unnecessary obstacles to successful collective bargaining, the Institute has begun to compile a dictionary of useful terms and phrases. This laborious job has been divided among eight committees, each one of which will be concerned with the terms most essential to the various standard clauses in bargaining agreements. The committees will be tripartite in nature, with labor, management and

the public represented. Accepting an invitation to collaborate in the project, Webster W. Townley, President of the Industrial Council of Kansas City, said:

In the work of the industrial council in advising some 400 employers here with regard to contracts with unions, we have had no such source of information as this handbook will be. We are anxious to have such a source so when we sit down and write a contract, both labor and management will be agreed as to the meaning of the terms used.

Since the Rockhurst Institute welcomes corresponding members, students of industrial relations everywhere can have a hand in writing what may well become a standard handbook for collective bargaining.

## WASHINGTON FRONT

IN THE MIDST of alarms about Russian expansionism, of deep anxiety over the certainty of famine in Southern and Eastern Europe, the Near East and India, of confusion over such things as atomic-energy control and wage-price policies, another item went almost unnoticed. Yet it may well have a fateful influence on the future of politics in this country.

I mean the decision announced by the CIO at its recent executive-board meeting in Washington to take immediate steps to organize the South.

Some months ago, commenting on a speech by Mr. James A. Farley in Alabama, in which that gentleman proposed a new industrial-agricultural set-up for the South, this observer remarked that an industrialized South means a labor-organized South, that that in turn means labor political action and, finally, that that would mean a whole new representation in Congress from several Southern States. That may now come true.

The CIO drive will concentrate on the textile, rubber, furniture, clothing and chemical industries, in large areas of which there is no labor organization and no collective bargaining. Unionism will also be spread to certain oil, steel and packing plants which do not have unions now. It is estimated that within a year 1,500,000 new workers will be organized.

It is inevitable that along with this unionizing drive will go political action. And in this connection it is well to remember that the effects of CIO political action are not confined by any means to the actual members of its unions. For every one CIO worker probably a dozen more are influenced in their votes.

The first political target, of course, will be the poll tax—first to urge every worker to pay his poll tax now, later to have it abolished as a qualification for voting. Then, perhaps not in November of this year, but certainly in 1948, will come a desperate attempt to clean out the Senators and Representatives who have a long record of voting in Congress with the Republicans against social-welfare measures and in favor of labor-baiting proposals. The State legislatures will also come in for scrutiny and some adverse political action.

If this comes about—and I do not see how it can fail to—the whole political complexion, not only of the South, but of the Democratic party will be changed. The present Southern Democratic-Republican coalition is not something that exists in the minds of reporters. It is now organized, has a chairman and a steering committee. But it may well have only a year or two to live.

WILFRID PARSONS

## UNDERSCORINGS

A MEMORIAL MASS honoring the war dead of forty-two Catholic colleges and universities was celebrated on March 15 at Georgetown University. On the night of April 29, Notre Dame will pay special tribute to its 301 former students who died in the war, and to its 9,900 alumni who served in the armed forces. It would be a worthy undertaking to compile the record of Gold Stars and service alumni of all Catholic colleges and universities in the United States. Figures which are up to date, though incomplete, have been reported for some of the Eastern Catholic schools: Fordham, with 7,006 service alumni and 212 Gold Stars; Georgetown with 6,085 and 159; St. John's, Brooklyn, with 5,165 and 110; Boston College with 5,006 and 136; Manhattan College with 3,500 and 120; Loyola College, Baltimore, with 1,115 and 28.

► Speaking at a regional conference of the United Jewish Appeal in St. Louis on March 17, William Rosenwald, National Chairman of the Appeal, praised Pope Pius XII for his assistance to Jews in Europe throughout the war: "He provided aid for the Jews in Italy and intervened in behalf of refugees to lighten their burden. His sense of compassion and sympathy toward oppressed peoples constitute the finest expression of humanitarianism."

► Cardinal Spellman accepted his first honorary degree as a Cardinal from Georgetown University on March 17. The occasion, on which the Cardinal delivered the main address, was the ninety-sixth Commencement of the Georgetown School of Medicine.

► Publication of *Holy See and the Missions*, by Edward Goulet, S.J., the March Missionary Academia study of the National Society for the Propagation of the Faith, is particularly timely in view of the necessity for rebuilding so much of the Church's missionary work, notably in China, Japan, the Philippines and the whole Pacific area. The Academia studies are published for the National Office of the Propagation of the Faith by America Press.

► Note three new diocesan weeklies: *The Steubenville Register* for the Diocese of Steubenville, Ohio; *Northern Michigan Catholic* for the Diocese of Marquette, Michigan; *North Country Catholic* for the Diocese of Ogdensburg, New York.

► The Catholic Association for International Peace will convene in Hartford, Conn., on April 22 and 23 for its first postwar national meeting. The National Catholic Educational Association meets in St. Louis, April 23-25; the Catholic Press Association in Boston, May 23-25; the National Council of Catholic Nurses in Toledo, May 24-26. National Family Week is May 5-12.

A. P. F.

# TUMULT IN THE ANTILLES: JAMAICA

RICHARD PATTEE

CAIRO, BOMBAY, KINGSTON—three widely separated spots in the British imperial scheme have popped into the headlines of late in terms of strikes, riots and unrest. Asia, Africa and America are all represented in the panorama of events that have raised serious questions regarding the post-war adjustment of Great Britain to her far-flung empire. It would be too much to say, certainly, that the Empire is threatened. We must have learned by this time that dire predictions regarding the early liquidation of the British world organization are likely to prove premature. But the significance of the latest events should not be lost, and it may not be amiss to trace the salient features in that heavily populated, all-black outpost of the United Kingdom in the Caribbean—Jamaica.

## THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

Jamaica presents a picture not unlike our own dubiously ruled colony of Puerto Rico. The British island has a thousand more square miles of land and 700,000 less people than Puerto Rico. Much of this margin of advantage is offset by the fact that an excessively large part of Jamaica is set on end as scarcely tillable mountain sides—magnificent for the tourist and the seeker after romance in the tropics but extremely hard on the Jamaican who has to make a living through farming. The population of well over a million is almost uniformly black, thus making it in a certain sense an English-speaking Haiti.

For many years before the war the island came to depend more and more on its banana export. Meritorious as this crop may be, and welcome in the world market as it unquestionably is, the banana is one of the least attractive guarantees against periodic depression. Aside from various varieties of worms and insects that destroy it, wartime limitations on shipping ended the banana trade. As a basic crop in the economy of a country it is infinitely worse than sugar. Jamaica is picturesque; it is verdant and balmy in its landscape and its climate; but the little island is beset by chronic depression, alarming unemployment and under-employment, disease on a large scale that saps the productive power of its people, and a way of life within the British Empire that leaves it slight chance to seek a readjustment elsewhere. The famous Benham Report of 1943 on the state of affairs in Jamaica paints a tragic picture in cold statistics of the struggle for existence of the mass of small farmers and laborers on the island. It is by far the most important British colony in the Western Hemisphere—in size, in general importance and in significance as a laboratory of colonial rule in the region. Jamaica is, in a very real sense, the hub of the British colonial system in this part of the world. If West Indian confederation or any other scheme finally works, Jamaica will probably be the axis on which the enterprise turns.

For years Jamaica occupied the status of Crown Colony—a euphemism for rule from London. It resembled in this respect the rest of the British possessions in the Caribbean waters. There was agitation for a change. The events of 1938, which rocked the colony to its foundations, accentuated the need for modification. Even though those events were largely social and economic in nature, they brought home to Jamaicans and to those interested in colonial ques-

tions the necessity for revamping the political set-up. The new constitution of 1944 provided for a very considerable degree of self-government. It is by no means dominion status or full autonomy, but it goes a long way in the direction of allowing the local inhabitants to have a voice in their affairs and even to run them within limitations. I am told in Jamaica that beyond self-government there is no real demand. Independence is not conceived of as possible, and the attachment to England constitutes not only a tradition but a guarantee.

This is not the place to describe the complicated structure of the Jamaica government. Suffice to say that it is somewhat cumbersome and awkward and, for a foreign observer, one of the most curious arrangements to be conceived. A House of Representatives, elected; a Legislative Council, appointed; and an Executive Council drawn from the first two, with the Governor holding the decisive eleventh vote, is the way the thing has been set up. During the debates over the form of self-government, when communications, suggestions and proposals went back and forth between London and Kingston, the British government gave in on the matter of universal adult suffrage but refused to budge an inch on the vital matter of the Governor's veto. Since the Executive Council initiates most important bills and policies, the deciding vote of the Governor is in effect a complete check.

## POLITICAL PERSONS AND PARTIES

Jamaicans reveal, no less than their West Indian brethren elsewhere, a marked propensity for political organization. As things stand now, two parties function in reality and a third exists, though unrepresented. The first is the Jamaica Labor Party, majority group under the leadership of the colorful and very vocal Alexander Bustamante. The world at large ought to know something of this combined labor-political leader who has risen up in Jamaica. Whatever may be said about his personality, his background or his ideas, no one can gainsay that here is a man who deserves to be known for sheer picturesqueness. He lived for some years in Spain, was interned in 1939, by the then Governor, and emerged as one of the most skilful and able organizers of the mass of Jamaicans that have appeared on the scene. Were he to have a larger stage or belong to one of the Spanish-speaking republics, there is no doubt that he would make an extremely effective mark on the trends of the times. Aside from his Jamaica Labor Party, he organized the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union organization. This labor organization represents primarily dockworkers, small industrial workers and farmers. As trade unionism goes, it falls far short of representing the mass of Jamaicans. With 24,000 dues-paying members, it barely scratches the surface. But in a community where trade unionism is new and relatively unknown, its minority organization is a force to be dealt with.

Ideologically, the Jamaica Labor Party and the trade-union movement that is joined to it represent the petty bourgeoisie, the rural proletariat and the men who load and unload ships. It is far from Marxist in character and portrays itself as devoted to the Empire idea. One indication of moderation is the fact that during a recent controversy

over nationalization of the schools, which would have done great injury to Catholic institutions, Mr. Bustamante declared openly, in contradiction to the Minister of Education, that his party would in no way diminish the allotments made available to religious schools.

There is no evidence of a party line in this organization. Against it stands the People's National Party, a minority of four in the House of Representatives. It is headed by N. W. Manley, a former Rhodes scholar and a highly cultivated and successful barrister. Into the ranks of the People's National Party the bulk of the Left-Wingers, pinks, fellow travelers and out-and-out Marxist-Leninists have found their way. It has more ideology than the majority party and has managed to bring into Jamaica the usual externals of Leftism the world over, including the clenched fist. Closely affiliated with this party is the Trade Union Council, made up of primary-school teachers, lower civil employees and clerks. Its membership runs perhaps to 10,000. Oddly enough, although its membership is more bourgeois than the first trade-union organization, it is much more afflicted with radicalism. Although more given to a doctrinaire position, Manley himself is involved in a whole series of important Jamaica enterprises, including the Jamaica Co-operative Development Council and the Jamaica Welfare Bureau, which receives important grants from the Imperial Government.

#### POLITICAL UNIONISM

The recent events of the month of February, which rocked Jamaica and splashed its affairs over newspapers everywhere, rose out of strictly local conditions. There was no issue at stake that could be said to affect the Empire or to reveal anything more than internal feuding between the organizations just mentioned. What is extremely important, however, and what perhaps reflects the trend of the times everywhere, is the high degree to which trade unionism and politics have been wedded in Jamaica. Although, in the case of the People's National Party, the connection is not quite so evident, it is perfectly clear that in both cases a political party is bound up intimately with a union movement and that the conflicts and clashes that occur in the chambers are instantly reflected in the rivalry of the unions themselves.

No idea exists in Jamaica at all of trade unionism as a purely economic force, without political axes to grind. It may be the ultimate and most perfect expression of the tendency in other countries toward political action on the part of trade unionism. The study of Jamaica might show, however, the degree to which this confusion can actually go.

Mid-February witnessed a tragic few days for Jamaica. The lid blew off in connection with a problem that appears to have no political implications at all—the retention or dismissal of the director of an insane asylum. The fireworks that were set off produced a roster of eighteen dead, hysterical outbursts, violent demands from both political parties and a tension that lasted for several weeks and which at the time of writing has not yet disappeared.

The Trade Union Council, affiliated with the minority party, insisted that the colonial government had failed to take adequate steps to remedy the situation of the staff of the mental hospital in Kingston. On February 15, 1946, 280 nurses and helpers walked out. Thus, without warning, the inmates were left to their own devices. The Kingston *Daily Gleaner* of that date heralded the events with the headline: "Madmen Roam Eastern Kingston this Morning." Since the situation was inspired by the minority, Mr. Bustamante immediately jumped into the breach. This was par-

ticularly significant, since other strikes threatened and one involving the railways actually took place. Mr. Bustamante, as Minister of Communications, in language that is perhaps demonstrative of the local milieu, proclaimed that "such actions from immoral politicians will only satisfy the vanity and lust for power of those political rejects who try to foist their objectionable selves on the public." As though this were not enough, a further statement blasted his enemies in the following language: "Only those with the mark of the beast, carrying the odor of the skunk, could be capable of such indecent and immoral action."

The lunatics, presumably, were having a field day. The *Daily Gleaner* of February 16 reported looting, vandalism and the destruction of foodstuffs in the institution. On February 17 part of the asylum burned down, with fifteen lives lost. These were by no means the only casualties. Mr. Bustamante in his wrath had led a demonstration of some 5,000 dockworkers and partisans to the hospital to examine the scene. Two were killed in the ensuing fracas. Language became more lurid as events piled up one on the other. When threatened with attack, Leader Bustamante retorted in terms that left no doubt as to his intention: "I am prepared to lie on my belly and struggle with the opponents."

The Jamaica government was faced by a grave and difficult task. It imposed emergency restrictions and announced that it would not deal with the strikers. Emergency volunteers were asked for, and women Religious were sent at the request of the Government, later to be withdrawn. The firemen of Kingston struck and the Canadian Brockville Rifles stationed in the island took over their task. The real problem was not merely the tugging and pulling between rival labor unions, but a series of strikes against the Government itself, since all the institutions involved are government-administered. Father Gerald Heffernan, S.J., able editor of the local Catholic weekly, *Catholic Opinion*, wrote:

Of course everyone knows that the struggle lies not merely between government and the TUC, but between the rival trade-union forces of the Trade Union Council and the Bustamante Industrial Trade Unions. Experience in other countries bears abundant testimony that it is a dangerous, and in the long run a futile business to marry trade unionism to politics.

In terms of the fight for self-government, the situation might easily become the argument for not granting such autonomy. If it was originally intended, as seems to be the case, to allow Jamaicans to make their own mistakes, it would be a great tragedy to discover that episodes of the type just described would constitute an argument against the liquidation of colonialism in that island or anywhere.

The local press focused attention on this point most effectively in stating in the *Daily Gleaner* of February 18:

Never have the political leaders of this country faced a crisis of the present magnitude. We regard this situation as more serious than the one which prevailed in 1938. That emergency arose from economic and social suffering which it was possible to alleviate. The present crisis threatens to assume the proportions of a civil war.

The whole problem of colonial peoples is one of the great issues of our times. Nothing, perhaps, has caused more intense speculation with regard to the evolution of the United Nations Organization. The United Kingdom very specifically has the enormous task of meeting the rising demands of her darker people all over the Empire. Their voice will not be downed. Jamaica is one of the oldest colonies still belonging to Great Britain. Its people for three hundred years have lived under the Union Jack. For less than a year and a half they have enjoyed a degree of self-government never



known before. The use made of that self-government may well determine the pattern elsewhere. To those interested vitally in the future of colonies, an examination of the Jamaican scene will not be out of place. It is colonialism and the shifting trends of the time in actual operation.

The tight situation described above is now merely in abeyance. No solution has been found. The Colonial Secretary and the Government have in general held to their position. It is not impossible that a new flare-up may precipitate a condition which the *Daily Gleaner* describes as civil war.

*(This is the first of two articles by Mr. Pattee on the situation in the Caribbean.—EDITOR)*

## BRITISH CONSTITUTION FOR AMERICA?

### A SYMPOSIUM

I HAVE READ with much interest Professor Kerwin's thoughtful article in the issue of *AMERICA* for February 16, and am glad to accept your invitation to comment briefly on it.

His statement of the case for correction of executive-legislative relationships seems to me admirably sound and succinct. I agree with his analysis of the problem of co-operation between Congress and the President, and I share his anxiety concerning the dangerous consequences to the nation of prolonged deadlock and stalemate between these two great branches of our national government. The times in which we live are too menacing for us to allow these periodic conflicts to continue to frustrate the efficient conduct of public affairs.

While I concur fully with Professor Kerwin on the pressing need of reform, I am dubious of the proposal he makes, following Mr. Finletter, to give the President the power of dissolution. This feature of the parliamentary system, to be sure, prevents protracted deadlocks between the Legislature and the Executive such as occur from time to time under the American system. But despite the strong appeal which the parliamentary system makes to some critics, it seems to me very doubtful whether it would be either sound or practical to attempt such a drastic change at this late date in our constitutional history.

Short of constitutional change, however, several methods have been suggested for promoting better teamwork between the two branches. Of these, the proposal for establishing a joint Legislative-Executive council seems to me to be the most promising and practical. Created by joint resolution and Executive order, such a council would consist of the leaders of the majority party in both Houses of Congress, on the one hand, and of the President and designated members of his Cabinet, on the other. The members of this joint council would meet at regular intervals and would collaborate in the formulation and carrying out of national policy. Served by a competent secretariat, the council would serve as a mediating mechanism between Congress and the Executive at the top level of policy making.

Such a council, I believe, would provide a medium for consultation among its members before legislation is introduced to carry out pledged party promises and on matters of high administrative policy. By giving Congressional leaders a part in the formulation of policy, instead of being asked to put through measures in the preparation of which they had no share, better cooperation between the Legislature

and the Executive could, I think, be obtained. The council would also enable Congress to deal more directly with difficulties and complaints arising out of administrative action. Minority leaders in both Houses might well be included from time to time in these joint conferences as a further means of promoting mutual understanding and harmony between the two branches. Formalizing the relationships between Congress and the President in this way, I believe, would improve and strengthen the performance of each.

Several States have set up similar councils in recent years, following the lead of Wisconsin, which established such a body in 1931. The idea has also been endorsed by political scientists like Beard and Elliott and by writers like Hehmeyer and Finletter. I hope it will be adopted and given a fair trial.

ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE, JR.  
U. S. Senator from Wisconsin

WITH THE MAJOR PROPOSAL of Professor Jerome G. Kerwin advanced in his article entitled "The Constitution Is at Fault," I find myself in substantial agreement. A modification of our governmental machinery so that, in cases of stalemate between Congress and the President, an election could take place to determine the will of the people would in my opinion be a healthy thing. I believe, however, that with such a system in vogue it would be unnecessary and wasteful to continue to hold the term of office of Members of the House of Representatives to two years. If it were possible to have a new election whenever the President and Congress could not agree on important issues, then the term of office of Members of the House of Representatives ought to be fixed at four years instead of two.

I believe it is possible that somewhat the same results as those desired by Professor Kerwin could be achieved if Congress would itself create over-all steering committees to determine legislative policy and consult with the President regarding it. Such committees should be representative of the membership of either the House or Senate and should take a broad view of the nation's problems and base their legislative programs upon such considerations.

I agree that, to date, Congress has not shown nearly the willingness to strengthen its own machinery which should have been shown under the circumstances and, if this point of view continues, some such basic change as Professor Kerwin advocates may become absolutely necessary. For, as he says, in times of profound crisis the paramount duty of a democratic government is action to meet the nation's needs, and the whole future of free government depends upon that action being promptly taken.

I believe, however, that Professor Kerwin fails to assign the correct reasons for our present difficulties. He seems to feel that the only influences to which Congress responds are the influences of patronage from the Executive. In my judgment this is true only to the most limited extent. Most Members of Congress, as a matter of fact, receive scarcely any real consideration with regard to patronage anyway. This is particularly true in the House of Representatives. The influences Congress is really subject to are the influences of general public opinion in the country. The fact that for a period after the election of a new President there is usually a considerable degree of cooperation between Congress and the President is, in my opinion, due mostly to the fact that the press and other organs of public opinion throughout the country usually deal rather generously with a new Chief Executive for a period of from three to six months after he first takes office. Thereafter partisan and other attacks begin to be made more and more against him, largely for the reason that if one is a Congressman, a newspaper editor, a radio

commentator or any other person speaking to the people, it is much easier to make himself popular by sympathizing with them in their troubles and blaming those troubles on some convenient person than it is by dealing constructively with the nation's problems.

Consequently public opinion changes and, with it, the attitude of Congress. Furthermore, I have noticed over and over again a tendency on the part of American voters to vote for a progressive candidate for President and then to turn around and say "but I am going to vote for a conservative Member of Congress or the Senate just to watch this fellow and see he doesn't go too far." I have seen this operate in too many instances not to believe it to be an important factor in bringing about the situation which so often obtains in which the President of the country will be much more progressive than the majority of the Congress.

Of course Professor Kerwin's proposal would cure this, which is one of the main arguments in favor of it.

Fundamentally, the absolute necessity of the hour is the taking of responsibility by the Congress for the passage of a legislative program which will actually meet America's needs in the present critical situation. Presumably we would like to accomplish this with the least possible change in our governmental machinery, but whatever needs to be done to accomplish this purpose must be done if we are seriously devoted to the cause of justifying free constitutional government in the eyes of the people of the world.

JERRY VOORHIS

*U. S. Representative from California*

IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE to underestimate the importance of what are sometimes called "mere mechanical changes" as a remedy for the contingency of deadlock between the President and Congress. To call them "mechanical" is to fail to recognize the close interdependence of political institutions and political ideas. The institutional arrangements prescribed in our Constitution reflect quite accurately the political ideas of its makers, whose natural-rights theory of the sovereign individual seemed to demand as a corollary representative government, whose powers should be separated and, moreover, curbed in their exercise by checks and balances—the whole to operate in a federal framework of divided sovereignty. The institutional structure thus produced was set forth in a constitution whose amendment was deliberately made most difficult.

This is the system of relationships, essentially the same, within which our government operates today. Montesquieu considered the possibility of deadlock when he was elaborating his theory of checks and balances, but brushed it aside rather carelessly: "... As there is a necessity for movement in the course of human affairs, [the three powers] are forced to move, but still in concert." In practice, however, it has not proved to be quite so simple to get them moving.

To pass a judgment on Professor Kerwin's proposal, it would be necessary first to estimate how far our basic political needs have changed—our expectations of what government may or should do. Then one must consider whether the changes proposed by Professor Kerwin are calculated to express institutionally the needs and expectations of our time; and finally, but equally important, one must determine whether these changes are or are not beyond the limitations imposed on rapid alteration by custom, tradition and environment.

It would require more space than is at my disposal to explain why I do not think, on the whole, that Professor Kerwin's suggestions are necessarily imposed by the nature of our political problem. I may attempt, however, to state

why I believe that we are not ready for the type of change he suggests.

The success of the British model of the responsible executive, to which Kerwin's proposal may fairly be assimilated, and which it inevitably recalls, depends largely on the unitary form of the British state, its relatively close integration—geographic, political, economic—and on the type of party system which has grown up in this framework. Because of the possibility of dissolution, the party organization in the constituencies is alert; because there is a single line from the constituencies to the House of Commons, and within the House from the back to the front benches, the voter's choice of a candidate may have its immediate echo in the Cabinet. Because a change of government is always possible in theory (even if it may not actually be imminent), doctrinal differences between parties are apt to be clearly formulated and available for the inspection of the electorate. The Prime Minister is the foremost leader of the majority party, as the Leader of the Opposition is the dominant political personality of the minority; and both parties are truly national parties, not a sort of holding company for scattered State, city and county organizations as in the United States, often with little in common except a name. In such a system, enforcement of executive responsibility is feasible. Two more points should be observed: the position of the King—the symbol of national unity, above the battle of parties, the guarantor of constitutional continuity; and the British idea of democracy, shaping and shaped by their institutions, thus expressed by D. W. Brogan: "Democracy in England means the choice of a government with nearly full powers to do as it likes." (The most important words are "nearly full powers.")

One must turn to the Dominions, to Canada and Australia, to see how the system of a responsible executive works in circumstances more nearly like our own. The constitution of Canada embodied the first attempt to combine federalism with responsible cabinet government. And federalism has placed many obstacles in the way of a free choice of a cabinet—sectional, religious, racial. Thus "availability" tends to replace competence, or to weigh equally with it, in the choice of ministers. Regional differences have operated against the national organization of parties and have made their doctrinal element entirely secondary to the quest for a successful leader. Constitutionally it is of the essence of federalism, not less in Canada than elsewhere, that no one government, provincial or national, is charged with the entire responsibility for the country's destiny. The flexibility of the cabinet system has not contributed to the solution of Canada's major problem, that of Dominion-Provincial relations, particularly in the economic sphere.

In Australia, the situation is similar to Canada's. In 1929 a Royal Commission, appointed to re-study the Australian constitution (under which cabinet government is again combined with federalism), came very close to doing away with federalism altogether, voting four to three. One member of the minority argued the utter incompatibility of the cabinet system with federalism, holding that the latter required the separation of powers as in the United States. Western Australia has clearly indicated its wish to secede from the Commonwealth and establish itself as a separate unitary state with Dominion status. Here again, provision for a rapid change of government by appeal to the electorate has not been able to prevent serious constitutional problems from arising.

Executive responsibility, then, may obviate deadlock between two branches of government; but it works to best advantage only, it would seem, in a well integrated, unitary

state. How well would it work in this country, with its multitudinous sectional differences?

The solution to the possibility of deadlock may be aided by better organization of Congress and its committees, now under discussion, and by developing a permanent non-partisan executive-legislative conference for preliminary work on legislation. But unless we are prepared to scrap federalism and replace it by unitary government, the proper institutional structure for dissolution of Congress and appeal to the electorate sought by Professor Kerwin cannot be developed. Sectional differences based on geography and long tradition, reinforced by political usages, seem to put such a change far into the future.

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## THE MORAL ISSUES IN HOUSING

WILLIAM J. GIBBONS

HOUSING ONLY INDIRECTLY concerns the Church, since her primary mission is in the spiritual order. Her greatest efforts will always be directed toward the betterment of the religious and moral life of the people. Yet housing has a most intimate connection with morals and the preservation of family life. When a housing crisis assumes the proportions of ours today it becomes very much the concern of all religious leaders. Thus reason the Catholic Bishops of Scotland in their joint pastoral on housing issued on January 1 of this year (text in the *Catholic Mind*, April, 1946). Housing, states the pastoral, has become a "burning question" of the day and one "closely connected with the preservation of peace." If justification is needed for the writing of a detailed letter on the subject, that is it.

### INADEQUATE HOUSING—U. S. AND SCOTLAND

Americans, long accustomed to hearing of the economic merits of their country, might ordinarily pass over the letter in silence. Now, however, our own painfully evident housing crisis should induce them to examine carefully its line of thought. Housing conditions in Scotland, apart from any actual war damage, which we were spared, are not notably dissimilar to those here. The following figures, given as approximate, bring out the similarities.

	Scotland	United States
Population .....	5,000,000	135,000,000
Dwelling Units .....	1,300,000	37,000,000
Persons per Unit.....	3.8	3.75
Built before 1914.....	900,000	18,000,000
Substandard .....	300,000	7,000,000
Unfit for Human Habitation	67,000	500,000
Without Inside Toilet.....	400,000	13,000,000
New Families Homeless (in 1946) .....	170,000	3,000,000

At a time like the present, when the spiritual and moral forces of the people should be at their highest the better to reconstruct a badly disorganized world, a shortage in decent housing is a tragedy. So long as nations and governments which still respect the dignity of the individual do not remedy such manifest inequity in the temporal order and safeguard a permanent remedy by law, the opportunity is always present for would-be totalitarians of the Right or Left—there is a fundamental kinship—to make an eco-

nomic appeal to the long-suffering people. Modern history should have taught us that by now. Even uncritical defenders of limitless free-enterprise, if they are sincere in their condemnation of totalitarianism, must now re-study basic principles of social justice. The provision of decent housing is a major way in which just distribution of wealth will be effected in the years ahead.

Mindful of the moral implications of the present housing crisis—England and Scotland are slightly worse off than we, but the issues are the same—the Scottish Bishops recall that adequate shelter is among the requisites of a just social order:

... We point out that every individual has a right to decent living conditions. The material wealth of the world was placed by God at man's disposal, not for the benefit of the few or the strong, but in order that conditions should be created in which every individual would be enabled to develop in accordance with the designs of the Creator. Such conditions imply as a minimum that adequate food, clothing and shelter should be available to everyone.

Partly for this end, too, nature designed that men should live in society and should choose for themselves a government which, among other things, would ensure that no individual, without fault of his own, should fall below this minimum standard of living, as long as there was sufficient wealth available to the community to make provision for all.

This quotation gives added emphasis to the truth that the right of the individual to at least minimum decent living standards may not be made conditional on his strength and ability to obtain his share. The philosophy of "individualism," which puts its trust in the mere presence of "opportunity" for economic advancement, is at best an inadequate statement of the basic principles of social justice. At its worst it becomes a thinly veiled disguise for a selfish desire to maintain the *status quo*.

### MORAL COST OF SLUMS

The moral urgency of decent housing may be better understood when we reflect on the results of inadequate and substandard housing. There are two aspects of the question: one the actual physical state of the available housing; the other the presence or absence of sufficient living space for normal family life. A compact modern apartment may ultimately be as harmful as run-down, substandard housing when one considers the crowding. Not merely minimum modern facilities are essential, but also light, space and air are needed for the family's proper development.

1. *Health suffers from inadequate housing.* Crowding and poor sanitary conditions normally take their toll in higher incidence of disease, notably tuberculosis. Add to this that inadequate housing frequently means high rents which leave the family less income for purchase of necessary health-giving foods.

2. *Family life suffers.* Bad living conditions, cramped quarters, lack of privacy offer standing invitations to tension, impatience and anxiety. Unwholesome curiosity and undue familiarities develop in children, while parents dread the arrival of another child for which additional space is unavailable. The multi-family apartment makes its own contribution to the tearing down of family life. Usually such apartments have less than four rooms and not infrequently three or fewer. Under such conditions large families and normal healthy family life are practically impossible. Rural slums—in fact poor housing conditions anywhere—provide a similar threat to family life.



3. *Individuals are adversely affected.* The moral dangers just mentioned can affect all family members, but there are still further bad effects. Proper study and normal intellectual growth become so difficult in many cases as to be practically impossible. Discerning teachers know this well. Where suitable space for recreation is lacking, no one should express surprise when individuals wander away from the home and the family circle. Before being too hard on the movies, the bars and the dance-halls, community-minded persons should look to the homes. They tell their own story, which cannot be related wholly in terms of "secular" education. Juvenile delinquency is not exclusively the result of inadequate religious training. Quite often it is closely connected with housing conditions.

These effects of poor housing are summarized by the Scottish Bishops in their pastoral. We can but agree when they state:

The spiritual development of our people is retarded; in many cases efforts at educational improvements are rendered futile or at best seriously obstructed; home and family life, in the normal Christian acceptance of that term, is made impossible; marriage is discouraged and family limitation encouraged at a time when the survival of our race is dependent upon a large increase in the average size of the family.

Slums and overcrowding, too, are among the main predisposing causes of tuberculosis and constitute contributing causes to the spread of many other diseases. Finally, poor living conditions have a direct bearing on the increase of juvenile delinquency, a problem which is daily becoming more pressing.

The problem of family limitation rightly alarms the Scots. Already those of retirement age almost outnumber the children. Before many years elapse, should the present decline in birth rate continue, they will actually outnumber the children. While conditions are not yet so bad among us, the disintegrating trend has already manifested itself. Certain of our large and populous cities—some of them largely Catholic in make-up—no longer show significant population increases. Housing and general living conditions are clearly among the aggravating causes.

Young couples wishing to settle down in family life have especially suffered from the cumulative effects of a bad and inadequate housing policy. Scotland's 170,000 homeless couples represent only a slightly larger segment of the population than America's three million new families without a roof of their own. The Scottish pastoral meets this question squarely:

Perhaps the gravest aspect of all is the accumulated dearth of homes for the young men and women who have married during the war. . . . No one can assess the social and spiritual detriment to our people and the personal anxieties and difficulties of these young people in the most vital period of their lives.

#### ESSENTIAL NEEDS

From the negative effects of inadequate housing we should be able to conclude what are the decent housing conditions essential to the safeguarding of family life. The Scottish pastoral deplors the high percentage—seventy per cent—of houses built between the wars which have only two bedrooms. The Scottish Housing Advisory Committee has laid down a three-bedroom standard. This pleases the Bishops. American planning committees might well take note; the problem is the same. Say the Bishops:

We must have homes, not just houses. Consequently all houses should be healthy, roomy and warm. Each house

should be equipped with a bathroom and at least three bedrooms. Considerations of privacy would seem to require two living-rooms; and the proposal that one of the bedrooms should be adaptable as a sitting-room during the day is highly commendable. This would seem to be a necessary provision for children who must study at home.

Homes, moreover, are not built merely for individual families. They form part of a community. Community planning is consequently called for, and the provision of stores, schools, churches and recreational centers is all part of a complete housing project.

The pastoral admits the difficulties which stand in the way of attaining proper housing for all in the immediate future. But the housing need is urgent and too much delay can be ruinous. "Unless there is to be chaos, an order of priority must be prescribed." The priority, in the minds of the pastoral's authors, puts the provision of adequate residential housing for the people immediately after the food supply.

Opponents of our own Government's housing program—some of whom labeled as "communistic" the subsidy provisions of the Patman Housing Bill—might be surprised to read the pastoral's commendation of subsidy payments when efficient and cooperative builders cannot produce sufficient homes at low enough prices.

#### WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY?

At the root of the housing problem lies the failure of the building industry to organize its efforts in such a way as to produce satisfactory homes at a price ordinary people can pay. The causes of the disorganization are many, and we do not treat them here. One thing, however, is certain, namely, that speculation and profiteering in housing are every bit as reprehensible as the same practices in handling essential food items. In both, advantage is taken of a basic human need to pile up personal gain. The time has come when those engaged in home construction must frankly admit their public responsibility. This point is not missed by the Scottish Bishops. They state:

It is the social duty of those engaged in the industry to lend all their energy to the production of homes, even if it means sacrificing more congenial work. Likewise there must be unselfish support at the hands of the public at large, who should refrain from any action which might appear to turn the present grave situation to their own personal advantage. Without the cooperation of all, the work cannot be accomplished.

The housing situation in our country, as anywhere, can be discussed only within the framework of these moral principles. Our procedure has been faulty in the past—not just during the war years—and change is called for. While change of policy will not immediately remedy the serious shortages of materials and skilled manpower it should go far toward preventing a similar shortage in the future.

#### WHO'S WHO

RICHARD PATTEE, head of the Latin-American Section of the State Department's Division of Cultural Relations from 1938 to 1943, has recently been re-visiting the Caribbean Islands to observe and study current developments. Mr. Pattee was born in Arizona, educated at the University of Arizona and the Catholic University of America, Coimbra (Portugal) and the Louvain. Prior to his service with the State Department, he taught at the University of San Juan (Puerto Rico) for eight years.

## UNO MEETS AGAIN

BY THE TIME these pages meet the reader, UNO's Security Council will be in session, grappling with issues that are literally a matter of life and death.

We learned at London a few months ago that great questions can loom up and fade away within the short space of a few days. At present writing we have no way of knowing what matters will assume the greatest importance before the eleven-member body meeting at Hunter College.

When the deadline for the provisional agenda expired several days before the scheduled meeting, the Secretary-General had received a formal complaint from Iran, certifying its dispute with the Soviet Union. Mr. Stettinius had declared his intention of moving that this item be put at the head of the Council's agenda. But the so-called deadline did not mean new complaints or questions were ruled out. Counter-charges by the Soviet Union were a distinct possibility. France was still making up its mind on asking UNO to interfere in Spain.

No one is deceived, however, into ignoring the fact that the basic struggle is the contest among the Big Three, particularly Britain and Russia. The prospects are grim and foreboding. But it is UNO's business to dispel these clouds.

What have the people a right to expect at Hunter College? And—perhaps a more personal question—what are our own obligations towards events there?

The people expect that before the Council all nations will be equal. No country, however small, should be denied its rights under the Charter. No Member should be deprived, by blackmail or other undue influence, of its liberty of appealing to the Council. Other Members have the obligation of vigilance on this point.

The people also expect that the decisions reached by the Council will be based on charges publicly made and on the evidence produced before it. They will resent it if the real issues are obscured by procedural maneuvers or by red herrings, or if the Council acts entirely behind closed doors, denying the world the right to form its own conclusions.

They expect that the decisions of the Council will be reached "in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter." Veto power or no veto power, all the delegates to the Council have equal obligations in this respect.

Admittedly the Security Council is not a court. It is not obligated either morally or legally to follow strict judicial procedure. But it must follow certain minimum standards of procedure sanctioned by long experience to safeguard all parties. Otherwise international life has not progressed beyond the power politics of the past. The public may not know the ins and outs of Iranian oil concessions. It may not be able to grasp the rights and wrongs of age-old economic or national rivalries. Yet it does know how to hiss and boo the raw decisions of a referee who transgresses the rules.

But in accepting the right to criticize, the public also accepts some responsibilities.

Is it necessary to say that no nation should be judged beforehand? For instance, Russia may be more guilty than most of us believe. But she must not come before the Council already condemned.

At times the public interest may not in fact be served by the public airing of highly inflammable issues. By putting upon the speakers the obligation of appealing to the gallery, such a course may prevent the decision being reached on the basis of real merit.

The work of the Security Council cannot be reckoned in the definite terms of strikes and balls. As Senator Vanden-

berg has said: "The Security Council does not contemplate the technique of the meat-axe." Pointing the finger and demanding the death penalty may thrill the courtroom, but lasting peace cannot be had so pleasurably.

No one can blame the Security Council if it goes slowly, feeling its way along a dangerous, uncharted road.

But it will be at fault if it so acts as to cast doubt on the sincerity of its participants or on its ability to do its job with dignity and efficacy.

## PHILIPPINE PLIGHT

With all the pleas for relief it should occasion no surprise if the plight of particular segments of the earth's surface receive insufficient attention. Yet pressing demands for assistance to the war-stricken elsewhere should not cause forgetfulness of our friends and loyal allies—the Filipinos.

The island nation became the scene of bitter contests between Japanese and American troops, with the inevitable result that the Filipinos are heirs to the widespread destruction and disruption of economic life which are inseparable from modern war. Thousands of young men who might have participated in the work of reconstruction and the building of an independent Philippines are gone. They died at the side of our own troops. Now the Filipinos need help to get on their feet once again. They need it *now*, for the situation is urgent and the date legally set for independence—July 4, 1946—is but three months away.

War brought to the Philippines a tangible loss of \$800 million, mostly in buildings, roads, bridges and public works destroyed or seriously damaged. Although destruction was probably most dramatic in Manila, it was by no means confined there. Even less remains of other towns and cities throughout the Islands. Whereas 50 per cent of Manila is leveled, 90 per cent of Zamboanga disappeared; likewise 70 per cent of Cebu, 75 per cent of Iloilo and 85 per cent of Davao.

Periodically the case of the Philippines comes before Congress. The Tydings Bill (S. 1610), introduced last November, provides for a three-man War Damage Commission to compensate property losses to the extent of \$330 million. It also allows \$30 million of surplus military property to be transferred, and devotes an additional \$120 million to restoration of public works and for training Filipinos in engineering, health and commercial activities. More recently the Bell Bill (H.R. 5185), introduced January 21, offers further assistance by providing for liberalized trade relationships after the Philippines secure their independence.

Both these bills are with the respective committees on insular affairs. Although Congress will probably act favorably on them when they come up for consideration, the delay hampers work of reconstruction and creates uncertainty and unrest in the Philippines and among investors of American capital.

The proposed legislation is not without limitations. The war-damage compensation offered amounts to only 75 per cent of actual loss. It is arbitrarily restricted to those of American or Filipino citizenship, while Chinese and Spaniards—whose ownership losses amount to 16 per cent of the total—are left unrepaired. Behind this restriction—and other restrictions on future ownership proposed by the Filipino legislature—possibly lurks the spirit of nationalism, to be dis-

couraged rather than intensified. As for future trade relationships, we can only ask what will be the effect of erecting barriers against Filipino trade at a time when we press free trade upon the world. The American interests who encourage such tariff restrictions might well ask how logical is their position in the light of defense of free enterprise and an open market here at home.

It is up to Congress to see that the Philippines get the help they need—soon. We owe them a special debt, and this is the time to repay it. The time grows short.

## RUTHENIAN "APOSTASY"

THE CASUAL ANNOUNCEMENT from behind the iron curtain that three million Ruthenian Catholics had abandoned the Roman Church and submitted themselves to the Orthodox will surprise only those who have not been following events in the Ukraine; and will deceive only those who have managed to remain ignorant of the techniques of Soviet strategy. For this is merely a carrying-over into the religious sphere of a pattern with which we have long been too familiar. The Soviets move in; an "oppressed minority" appears; a "liberation committee" is formed; the liberated ask to be absorbed into the higher unity of Soviet freedom; their request is graciously acceded to; *finis*.

AMERICA, on January 5, 1946, carried an article by Father Charles Keenan pointing out the beginnings of this strategy. During 1945 the Ruthenian Hierarchy and many priests had been arrested. A "Preliminary Committee for the Reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Orthodox Church" had been formed and had issued its appeal to "the venerable clergy of the Western Ukraine." The appeal was decisively rejected; and the Ruthenian Catholics asked that the rights guaranteed to them even under the Soviet Constitution should be granted. The only result, in the words of Bishop Senyshyn, Auxiliary Bishop of Ruthenian Catholics in the United States, was

... confiscation of Catholic religious institutions, heavy pressure aimed at making Catholics join the Orthodox Church, killing and imprisoning clergy and outstanding people. . . .

That is the background against which the Moscow announcement must be read.

Since the Ruthenian Bishops are either dead or in prison, the "Synod of the Uniate Church" which issued the announcement of reunion with Orthodoxy speaks at the best with very dubious authority. It speaks, moreover, in a too well known idiom. The Uniates, said the "Synod," had been taken from Orthodoxy,

... with the help of proud and power-loving Rome, which had always dreamed of its own dictatorship in the Christian world.

Today, before our eyes, an act of historic justice has been done through the heroic deeds of the Red Army—truly an army of the people—and of the entire Soviet Union. . . .

When we add a report from Rome that only forty-two priests (now excommunicated) out of some 2,700 voted for the schism, the true worth of the "Synod" becomes evident. It may be able to enforce its authority in the Soviet zone; but elsewhere its proceedings will have no effect whatever on the loyalty of Catholics.

## PRIESTS AND POLITICS

IN HIS ANNUAL DISCOURSE to the Roman parish priests and Lenten preachers, Pius XII touched on a problem that is sharply felt today—the Church and politics.

It is an old problem, and Pius XII said nothing new about it. But he spoke in a particular context—a proposed Italian law which would impose severe civil penalties on priests discussing election issues from the pulpit. In the face of this move, the Pope reiterates the traditional position of the Church, which was embodied in the 1929 Concordat. The clergy in Italy are still forbidden "to belong to, or participate in, any political party." Party politics—the pursuit of particular temporal interests, not necessarily identified with the common good, by special groups with their own ideas—are not the concern of the Church. In American language, the Church does not belong in the smoke-filled room, as a party to the maneuvers, deals and contests of power that go on amid the incense from cigars.

Nevertheless, in renouncing party politics, the Church does not withdraw from the political life of peoples. The sacred silence of the sanctuary is not the alternative to the profane privacy of the smoke-filled room. Pius XII strongly reiterated his assertion at the public Consistory of Feb. 19.

The Church must reject more emphatically than ever that false and narrow concept of her spirituality which would confine her, blind and mute, in the retirement of the sanctuary. The Church cannot cut herself off, inert in the privacy of her churches, and thus desert her providential mission of forming the complete man, and thereby collaborating without rest in the construction of the solid foundations of society.

This isolation of the Church from political life is, of course, what the anti-clericals always want. Their basic premise is clear: the Christian conscience is not a factor in public life; religion and politics are separate spheres of activity. Equally clear is the Church's position: "Every man in his public life as well as in his private life, whether he strives for his own or for the common good, is bound to conform his conduct to God's eternal laws" (Pius XI, *Ubi Arcano*). Pius XII flatly stated: "The separation between religion and life, between the Church and world is contrary to the Christian and Catholic idea." It is Leo XIII's oft-repeated principle: "The same one man is both citizen and Christian." His Christian conscience must guide his civic life; and the Church must make his conscience completely Christian.

On this principle, the Church enters the political life of peoples. She does not enter as a political power; her role is solely spiritual, and her action terminates at conscience. "It is," said Pius XII, "the concern of the Church to explain to the faithful their moral duties, which derive from this electoral right," and from all their other civic rights and obligations. If the ministers of the Church go beyond their competence, which is solely to give counsel and instruction in civic matters under their religious aspect, the Church is their judge, not the State. And here Pius XII reminds us:

Let it not be forgotten that it was precisely under this pretext of combating so-called "political Catholicism" that National Socialism, which in reality desired nothing else than to destroy the Church, set against the Church all that machinery of persecution, vexation and police espionage against which churchmen, whose heroism is today admired by all the world, had to defend themselves, and which they fought courageously from the pulpit, too.

The Church is in politics as man's conscience is in them.



# LITERATURE AND ART

## DANCING-DAYS

SISTER MARY JEREMY

"HIS HEAD WAS THE PRICE of one dancel!" read the inscription painted by the Curé of Ars over the chapel of Saint John the Baptist in his church. This arresting declaration was the headline, so to speak, of his twenty-five-year battle against dancing. Even for onlookers it was, he maintained, an occasion of sin; to those who actually participated he was ruthless. Alas for Monsieur le Curé! Did his angel never intimate to him that there are dances and dances—that some are, in fact, celestial? What if the soul of the venerable Curé was met by such a dancing angel as we see in Fra Angelico's *Last Judgment* and escorted to the throne of God in as graceful a rigadon?

Whatever the Curé's reactions to such a performance, we may be sure that Dante's would have been approving. His entire *Paradiso* is, in effect, one vast cosmic dance wherein the spheres of varying glory and the heavenly choirs move "with differing whirl, or swift or slow." The same "unwalled expanse of love," an infinite dancing-place for those happy ones who enter it, appears in the *laude* of Dante's contemporary, Jacopone da Todi. So, too, the sixth-century "*Altus Prosator*" sings of Heaven "with the chants of hymns continually ringing, a thousand angels making spring with holy dances."

Many Saints refuse to postpone their dancing till they reach Paradise. Everyone knows the story of the Jongleur of Notre Dame, whose "leaping low and small, tall and high, over and under" won for him the loving attention of his "sweet and courteous queen" who came to fan her devoted servant after his exertions. Less well known, perhaps, is the similar performance of Saint Pascal Baylon, whom a friar peeping through the buttery-hatch saw "leaping high and moving rhythmically backwards and forwards, before the statue of Our Lady which stood over the refectory door." A few minutes later, when the friar entered, he was so awed by the sight of Pascal's shining countenance that the memory of it long increased his own devotion.

Blessed James de Voragine, celebrated compiler of the *Golden Legend*, actually organized a band of twenty-five novices who "dressed in the style of the secular minstrels of the day, in loose ivory-colored short cloaks and flat white shoes, and like the secular minstrels gave performances which included not only recitations, songs and instrumental music, but acrobatic feats and dancing." This venture, made at a time when the abuses of the professional minstrelsy were an occasion of great scandal, is recorded with some disapproval by one chronicler. This shows Blessed James' spiritual kinship with Saint Francis of Assisi and the other holy innovators who fought the world with its own weapons by substituting innocent diversions for unwholesome ones.

After all, as Blessed James' defenders have said, Saint Thomas Aquinas had declared that play is necessary for human society and that minstrelsy, being intended for human solace, is not in itself unlawful if exercised suitably and in moderation. The displeasure against Blessed James cannot have been too serious since it prevented neither his consecration as Bishop of Genoa nor his beatification.

A swirl of angelic merry-making attended the birth of another Dominican, Blessed Columba of Rieti. Called to the window by a mysterious voice, the midwife saw a chariot in

the street, bearing most beautiful youths dancing in a circle and making jubilant leaps around a waxen statue. Returning to the mother of the new-born infant, she cried: "Joanna, this daughter of yours will be blessed!" and told her of the vision. Thirty-three years later, when it was time for this gentle saint to die, she beheld a group of angelic young men, some carrying various musical instruments, while others vaulted joyfully with celestial mirth and song.

If sanctity is honored by the dancing of angels, why should not human beings also honor it in this way? So thought King David, dancing with all his might before the Lord. Miriam, the prophetess, sister of Aaron, "took a timbrel in her hand: and all the women went forth after her with timbrels and with dances." Even today the inhabitants of Echternach in Luxembourg continue a remarkable ritual begun in 1553. On every Whit Tuesday, accompanied by a traditional melody, a group of persons known as the *Springende Heiligen* or Dancing Saints go in a processional dance to the shrine of Saint Willibrord, offering this curious ceremony on behalf of the sick.

In Blessed Henry Suso's autobiography an episode is recorded which may well have suggested to Fra Angelico those exquisite scenes which show friars dancing into Paradise with their guardian angels as partners:

After he had spent many hours in contemplating the joys of the angels, and daybreak was at hand, there came to him a youth, who bore himself as though he were a heavenly musician sent to him by God; and with the youth there came many other noble youths in manner and bearing like the first, save only that he seemed to have some preeminence above the rest, as if he were a prince-angel. Now this same angel came up to the Servitor right blithely and said that God had sent them down to him, to bring him heavenly joys amid his sufferings; added that he must cast off all sorrows from his mind and bear them company, and that he must dance with them in heavenly fashion. Then they drew the Servitor by the hand into the dance; and the youth began a joyous ditty about the Infant Jesus, which runs thus: "*In dulci jubilo*" . . . . When the Servitor heard the dear name of Jesus sounding thus sweetly, he became so blithesome in heart and feeling that the very memory of his sufferings vanished. It was a joy to him to see how exceeding loftily and freely they bounded in the dance. The leader of the song knew right well how to guide them, and he sang first and they sang after him in the jubilee of their hearts. . . . This dance was not of a kind like those danced in this world; but it was a heavenly movement, swelling up and falling back again into the wild abyss of God's hiddenness.

"Not of a kind like those danced in this world; but a heavenly movement." The words give one of those rare and luminous intimations of a recurrent design, an exquisite repetition in the intricate patterning of Divine love. Dante, Jacopone da Todi, Fra Angelico, Henry Suso—these are diverse witnesses, but their testimony is one.

The motif of the mystical dance appears with extraordinary effect in Newman's *Callista*. The passage occurs in the chapter describing the last dream of the young martyr:

She . . . now was arrayed more brilliantly than an Oriental queen; and she looked at Callista with a smile so sweet, that Callista felt she could only dance to it. And as she looked more earnestly, doubting whether she should begin or not, the face changed and now was

more marvelous still. It had an innocence in its look, and also a tenderness, which bespoke both Maid and Mother. . . . And the Lady seemed to make signs of encouragement; so she began a solemn measure, unlike all dances of earth, with hands and feet, serenely moving on. . . . At length she was fain to sing as well as dance; and her words were, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Of all the forms in which we find this motif, the most mysterious and entrancing is the conception of Christ as the leader in an ineffable dance in which all His lovers join Him. This image casts its unearthly charm even on such a work as Wyclif's controversial tract, *The Church and Her Members*, where we read: "And thus shulde the Chirche drawe to acord bi Crist, that ledith the daunce of love." Again in the traditional carol, *My Dancing Days*, is the whole cycle of Christ's human life in terms of this figure:

To-morrow shall be my dancing day:  
I would my true love did so chance  
To see the legend of my play,  
To call my true love to my dance.  
Sing O my love, O my love, my love, my love;  
This have I done for my true love.

Then was I born of a virgin pure,  
Of her I took fleshly substance;  
Thus was I knit to man's nature,  
To call my true love to the dance.

Into the desert I was led  
Where I fasted without substance;  
The devil bade me make stones my bread,  
To have me break my true love's dance.

Before Pilate the Jews me brought  
Where Barabbas had deliverance;  
They scourged me and set me at nought,  
Judge me to die to lead the dance.

Then down to hell I took my way  
For my true love's deliverance,  
And rose again on the third day  
Up to my true love and the dance.

On Easter morning the sun dances for joy because of Christ's resurrection, and on Doomsday, according to old ballads, the very stones shall dance on water and the stars in Heaven. Man, too, must "come unto the general dance" of creation wherein all that is shall move eternally, circling in unspeakable joy, drawn, as Dante sang, "by the Love that moves the sun and the other stars."

## DUBLIN LETTER

"ON MY ARRIVAL IN IRELAND," said one distinguished American airman whom I met at the recent International Air Congress in Dublin Castle, "I realized that I was in a city of culture, and while here I am going to find time for two things—to see your famous book of Kells and the Abbey Theatre. You must tell me about your great book."

Here is a little about the great book, for that friend and others.

Recently taken from its hiding place and returned to Trinity College, this beautifully illustrated Book of the Gospels, dating from the seventh century, is one of our enviable possessions. Indeed, Ireland has few great treasures to boast of, like other nations, and this can be understood after the destruction of the monasteries; yet she prizes her ruined churches and famous monasteries and the treasures that were

hidden in the bogs for generations during the days of religious persecution. We owe much to the labors of the late Sir Edward Sullivan and others for the study and research in connection with this ancient volume, for no trace of the old monastery where it was written can now be seen. The town of Cennanus (or Kells) in the County Meath has many old ruins and ancient Crosses, but not a stone of the old monastery.

Yet tradition, which dies hard in Ireland, has preserved the links of the story and fixed the date of the Monastery of Saint Columba, or Columbkille (Colm of the Church) at 550. From a study of the ornamentation, this manuscript has been placed in the seventh, or early in the eighth century. It is universally acknowledged that the two finest examples of Irish or Hiberno-Saxon illustrations are the Book of Kells and its only rival, the Book of Lisdisfarne.

In brief, the history of the book is known from the time the last Abbot of Columbkille's Abbey, Richard Plunket, gave it to his brother. It was acquired from Gerald Plunket by Ussher, the Protestant Primate of Ireland. Later Archbishop Ussher bequeathed it to Trinity College. Cromwell, however, to gratify his boasted literary tastes, seized the Book of Kells and stored it in Dublin Castle. On the Restoration of Charles II, it was returned to Trinity Library. The period when the Book was hidden in a bog and the cover of gold with precious jewels removed is another chapter. But still more disappointing is the fact that the monks who worked in the long hours from sunrise to twilight illustrating each sacred word with such consummate artistry, breathing the spirit of faith and love into each page, are unknown. The last remaining lines on the vellum where the names of the scribes were evidently written are torn. The last words read: "Pray for the soul of the Scribe." The book has been in Trinity College since 1650.

To the Irish people the Book of Kells represents the golden age of her civilization and learning. Many extravagant things have been written about the period, but Sir Edward Sullivan considers that the scholarly, sober pages of Bede give the story of the Book as miraculous enough. That fierce and restless quality of the Pagan Irish, the terror of Western Europe, seemed to have emptied itself into a love of learning and a love of God, and it is the peculiar distinction of Irish medieval scholarship, and the salvation of literature in Europe, that the one in no way conflicted with the other.

The work now being undertaken by the Irish Manuscript Commission is arousing great interest amongst scholars from all over the world, but particularly from the universities of the United States, and with the remarkable industry and enthusiasm of American students much is expected.

The Book of Kells remains one of the most visited of our treasures in Dublin. The magic of the illustrations, the color and Celtic design of ornamentation have elicited from the experts remarkable comments. Immense sums of money have been offered for the purchase of the Book, but without avail. To Ireland it means more than money.

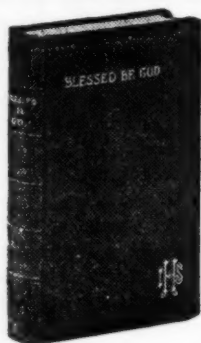
Whenever I visit the ruins of the old Abbey of Donegal, I love to wander by the sunny nooks where the Four Masters wrote their Annals—that much prized volume of a later date. Here they toiled day after day, only raising their eyes to gaze at the glory of the Donegal Hills as inspiration to their work. Last year the Irish Government had a postage stamp struck to honor the four Irish scholars, and to remind the Irish people of the value of their contribution to the nation. But of Kells Abbey we know not the scribes. What we do know is that the beautiful book they bequeathed to the country was written for the glory of God and the honor of Ireland.

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**BOOKS**

**LIBERALS AND FREEDOM**

A CATHOLIC LOOKS AT THE WORLD. By Francis E. McMahon. Vanguard Press. \$2.75

CHRISTIANS HAVE SUFFERED badly, says Dr. McMahon, from the lack of practical wisdom to apply the lofty principles which are our heritage. But "we can profit from our errors. We can try once more to bring together that union of true principles and right concrete decision." It is the aim of the author, "Catholic in religion, American in nationality, Irish in ancestry," to provide some of these practical helps by which a Christian and a Catholic today can carry out that high responsibility which God has placed upon him.

But Christians have suffered badly from another source, which is often an obstacle to our reaching right decisions. Language today, as ever in man's history, plays us some odd tricks. The word "liberal," if understood in an ancient, honorable and Christian sense, should stand for a man who has a wide scope of ideas, seeing things in their just proportion and connection. He would be a man who has a more than ordinary abhorrence for sins against the God-given dignity of the human person, and a strong sense of natural justice, in the correct and Catholic sense of the term. To our misfortune, however, this honorable title has been prostituted by those who call themselves liberals, but in reality sacrifice man's true dignity and the pursuit itself to the passionate tyranny of an idea. Says Dr. McMahon, in the course of a review of the "failures" of so-called Liberalism:

Thanks largely to the influence of modern Liberalism, we have today an age that is intellectually and religiously bankrupt. There has probably never been a period in the entire history of civilization when men cared so little about the religious and philosophical foundations of their culture. How long can a culture endure when it has turned its back upon the thing that made it strong and durable?

And again:

No one is more sincere today than the modern Liberal when he talks about the "supremacy of law" and "the rights of man." He is not speaking sheer gibberish, and he means what he says. *But what he says makes sense only in a context which he has forgotten.* He is echoing a doctrine whose fulness and integrity he has lost sight of. That echo will surely die away unless the Liberal can trace it back to its source. (Italics mine.)

Dr. McMahon's aim is to restore this context, by reviewing some of the foundations of our culture, and thereby to provide what might well be called a manual for Christian Democrats: not a political guide, but a sound, thorough and frank statement of what a Catholic needs to know about his relation to society, to politics and to the world, if he is not to fall into a series of blunders that have only succeeded in isolating the Church and crippling its usefulness.

His style is direct and popular, gained from experience in classroom and on lecture platform. He passes rapidly from the general idea to the concrete application. The author has cultivated a wide range of contacts, personal and literary, and his numerous quotations are apt and effective.

Dr. McMahon, as he himself would not unwillingly acknowledge, is somewhat of the belligerent type; and some of his uncompromisingly expressed views have aroused conflicts that have gained for him, for better or worse, no small publicity. He refers to these events merely in passing, and propounds a couple of times, also in passing, his ideas on the Spanish situation, concerning which considerable dispute could be made. But these are incidental to the main course of the argument. This reflects the mind of a scholar who has made a more than ordinary study of the Papal Encyclicals, Christian philosophy and much of the best modern social and political writing.

He prays that "Christianity and democracy will cease going their respective ways." For "democracy which forgets its God is a democracy that will perish." For this reason he drops sharply down to earth in discussing materialism and selfishness in the American character, democracy in the



United States, management and labor, the farm problem, the position of the Negro, anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism and the Ku Klux. He praises the great strength and soundness of American Catholicism, but puts his finger on a few weak spots as well. He believes that Protestantism, Catholicism and Judaism have a common foe in secularism. In his conviction of the high responsibility of Catholic education, he often wonders "what happens to the thousands of young Catholic men and women who leave our colleges every year. They seem to get lost in the maelstrom of mundane affairs. Their impact upon the civic consciousness of America is at best indirect. . . . As far as that goes, such impact is good. . . . But the country is craving for leaders. . . ."

Not alone freedom from many evils, he concludes, is what the world unconsciously craves:

It is freedom also toward something that the world wants: toward the fullness of knowledge, the fullness of love, the fullness of a human personality that has finally found itself, that has become, under God, the master of its soul and of its destiny.

In view of the alarming world developments that have taken place since the war (during which Dr. McMahon's book was written) his picture of a Catholic outlook on the world would be more universally compelling if it took the Communist menace more explicitly into account; for nothing can be more thoroughly anti-Communist than his entire philosophy and interpretation. But as they stand in their clarity and vigor, his eloquent pages, if well pondered, will inspire many a young American to seek the roots of real freedom, and thereby to appreciate better some of the rich treasures of his Christian faith.

JOHN LAFARGE

## BLACK "MEN IN WHITE"

THE INTRUDERS. By Robert Bright. Doubleday and Co. \$2.50

EVER SINCE I READ and reviewed *The Life and Death of Little Jo* several years ago, I have been eagerly waiting the next book by Robert Bright. Here, I felt, was a man who wrote with a deep, understanding sympathy for the underprivileged; beyond that he showed a keen appreciation of Catholic life. This was a fact evident in his novel and later confirmed when I learned that Mr. Bright was convinced that there could be no explanation for the dignity and integrity of those Americo-Mexicans, living among the greatest odds of poverty, other than that they were upheld and made happier than many of their more comfortable and so-called progressive fellows by their unquestioning faith in the Church.

So, with these anticipations keen, I read through *The Intruders* at one sitting. It is that kind of book; it is short, tense, quite masterly in its psychology; it deals with a dramatic and important theme; it pulses with a really vibrant sympathy—but I regret exceedingly that something I had by no means anticipated in this author creeps in: there are several passages dealing with adultery which are much too suggestive in detail, which are absolutely not organic to the story and which, therefore, offend doubly against craftsmanship and morals.

This being said in reprobation, Mr. Bright's story is about a surgeon in a private hospital, who is quite a mystery to his fellow doctors and to his acquaintances in general. He is a superb operator, but he is shy, secretive, with the air of a man always on the defensive. Well he might be, as the story unfolds, for he has Negro blood coursing through his white body. A Jewish refugee girl is drawn to him, subconsciously because she recognizes in him another of a persecuted minority. Her father, a fellow physician, learning the doctor's secret from a former fiancée, whom he is treating and with whom he has the immoral relations castigated above, tells a third doctor who, already consumed with jealousy and a hatred for Negroes, brings the stark story to an end with murder. But not quite to an end, for the real conclusion is that the murderer will be safe, will not even be brought to trial—only another Negro will be discovered killed.

There is splendid characterization in this book: particularly fine is the portrayal of Dr. Shalby Gale, the rabid Southerner, weak, vain and ultimately vicious; little touches

## Meditations in Pencil

By DIANA ORPEN

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# THE MYSTICAL LIFE

By

Pascal P. Parente, S.T.D., Ph.D., J.C.B.

Associate Professor of Ascetical Theology  
Catholic University of America

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The scope of this volume is distinct from that of *THE ASCETICAL LIFE*, also by Dr. Parente. Here the author discusses the higher realms in the life of prayer. As in the former work, he treats the subject with the greatest clearness.

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The information contained in *THE MYSTICAL LIFE* ought to be part of the theological equipment of every seminarian before he starts out on the work of the ministry. A priest who has not already acquired this knowledge will do well to study this volume.

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of gentle comedy point up minor characters such as the little Negro boy, Aurelius. There are moving dramatic scenes, as when the Negro doctor, under the intense strain of fear that his secret will soon be on everybody's bitter tongue, trembles during an operation and loses the little girl under his knife.

It is a book of passionate convictions and a most caustic indictment of injustice and cruelty. It is really a cause for deep regret that it is marred by utterly superfluous smudges. Let me say that I think Mr. Bright is a writer of too great integrity to have included these sections from a mere desire to pander to low tastes. I think he felt they were a necessary outgrowth of the situation. I cannot agree. A revision, with them omitted, would leave us a minor masterpiece.

HAROLD C. GARDINER

## GUNGA'S CREATOR GAUGED

RUDYARD KIPLING. By Hilton Brown. Harper and Bros. \$3

EVEN IF THIS WERE not the good study it is, it would still be an important book, for, as Mr. Brown puts it, in "considering the critical assault upon Kipling, there is one fact which must always be borne in mind; his critics are either very remote or very recent. . . . It was not till after his death that such writers as Edward Shanks or T. S. Eliot took him up for serious consideration." Mr. Brown is too modest to assess his own book, but it must be added to the Shanks-Eliot evaluations to round out a trio of Kipling critiques over the past five years which can really be termed first-rate criticism. It represents his first essay as a critic on any major scale, though an intimate knowledge of India displayed in a group of good novels must surely be accounted an impressive credential for any one writing on Rudyard Kipling.

Mr. Brown has divided his analysis into two virtually equal parts, the first, "The Factors," being a sound appraisal of the Kipling biography, the second, "The Product," an equally judicious estimate of the Kipling achievement. He makes certain telling points about Kipling's relations to India, among them the significant fact that, except for an infancy wherein the child learned to speak in Hindustani before he did in English, "Kipling arrived in India at the age of seventeen, and he left it—for good—at the age of twenty-four. . . . Kipling was a boy in India, and his India was a boy's India." Not for him, therefore, the sociological subtleties of a Forester, or the political intimacies of a Weston; Kipling's India, with its primary colors, its gold "lacquered down to dull bronze," its "purples overlaid with sepias of the sea," stands to theirs as the sea of *Treasure Island* to the sea of *Lord Jim*. But a day may come, nevertheless, when *Passage to India* will remain a sociological curiosity like *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, while *Kim* and *The Jungle Books*, along with such indigenous classics as the *Panchatantra* and the *Jatakas*, will be a part of an official Indian curriculum that need no longer be jealously vigilant over a writer's Toryism or Liberalism.

Mr. Brown is similarly percipient when it comes to the vexed question of Kipling's politics; he puts the problem in its proper perspective, and he is quite aware that the day is soon coming, if not already here, when the issue will provoke no more adverse attention than Walter Scott's obsequious courtesies to the Prince Regent do today. He knows how to suggest, by anecdotal vignette, just how much the smell of printer's ink meant to this first and greatest (if we except Charles Dickens) of the great journalists in English letters. "He was loyal to his work; his mind and heart were in the newspaper office; when he attended a fancy-dress dance it was as a printer's devil in a costume designed by his father—doublet and hose and a swishable tail."

However, racial hypotheses can be very irritating, and one would have thought that G. K. C. had destroyed once and for all the old pat Meredithian antithesis of Celt and Saxon. But Mr. Brown can still see in Kipling's heredity "the hard-headed proselytizing North England Methodist confused but inspired by the mystic and superstitious Celt." Might it not be the other way round, with the superstitious Celt supplying his rigid sense of hierarchy, and the hard-headed Methodist strain lending him both earthy inspiration and that

sensitivity to "elsewhere," as T. S. Eliot labels it, which can all too easily be dismissed by the misleading term, "superstition?"

Granted that some black Highland bequest of second sight may have made the Dismal House at Torquay intolerable to a descendant of Macdonalds, and that a typically Celtic scruple about the psychic urged him to the sensible decision that he had "seen too much evil and sorrow and wreck of good minds on the road to Endor to take one step along that perilous track," it is every bit as likely that the Kipling who "wrestled with obscurantist mullahs and hocus-pocus fakirs," who wrote of "mewing lepers with supernatural powers," who may have dabbled on one occasion in black magic in the House of Suddhoo, and whose father, finally, expedited the infant Rudyard's hard birth by having a clerk sacrifice "a kid in the local temple" harked back to generations of Lancashire witches.

Mr. Brown has, refreshingly, not been long enough at the critical game to temper his enthusiasms by hemming and hawing reservations, and he makes no bones of his conviction that Kipling's range and "immense unbounded incalculable variety" must be acknowledged as genius. He sums up very well the impact of Kipling's Elizabethan opulence of word, a quality which neither disciple nor parodist can even suggest in imitation, confined, as they are, to "a sort of basic Kipling." He finds an admirable figure for his subject's particular art "which may rise to the glory of a cathedral window or fall to the synchronizing of a clockwork toy: in Kipling there are times when it does both." He gives full value to Kipling's theory of fictional genesis, the same in essence as James' doctrine of the *donnée*. He does not, however, lay sufficient stress on Kipling's self-consciousness as an artist, almost as great as James' own; and one could have wished he had not so cavalierly dismissed those complex fantasies, *Puck and Rewards and Fairies*.

The most creative, if not the most original of Mr. Brown's critical suggestions—for he borrowed it from Eliot's notable essay—is this: that any debate over the relative merits of Kipling's prose and poetry is a debate of straw men, inasmuch as in the best work of Kipling's long and rich artistic maturity the two are so intermeshed as to form almost a new composite form. At the end of his treatise he asks what, for Kipling idolaters, must be in the nature of a rhetorical question: is there a possibility that Kipling may "once again be recognized as an outstanding genius of our race and our writing?" When the final rehabilitation is complete, Mr. Brown's book is sure to stand high on the list of the pioneer re-evaluations.

CHARLES A. BRADY

#### FIERY ANGEL: THE STORY OF FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

By Ramona Sawyer Barth. Glade House. \$1

PRETTY PICTURES of Florence Nightingale as "the lady with the lamp" dissolve into a realistic war background, and someone sterner and more modern emerges in Ramona Sawyer Barth's brief sketch of the founder of modern nursing. It took more than sweetness and light to combat the official inertia and red tape and the public ignorance that let men die of battle wounds and disease, untended in filthy makeshift hospitals. It required equally strong will power to fight the well founded Victorian prejudice against the nursing class, and to secure the privilege of training nice, well educated girls to care for the sick.

Florence Nightingale had the intelligence, the persistence and the religious zeal to go on crusading during a long life, following the "inner light" that compelled her "to do God's work in the world." Catholic nursing sisterhoods, on the Continent and in Egypt, were an inspiration to the young Englishwoman. The example of the French Sisters of Mercy in particular helped to launch her into her great work during the Crimean war. Her biographer quotes her as saying: "The Catholic Orders offered me work, training for that work, sympathy and help in it, such as I had in vain sought in England."

MARJORIE HOLLIGAN

SISTER MARY JEREMY, O.P., is on the English Faculty at Rosary College, River Forest, Illinois.

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## THEATRE

LENA HORNE, popular colored night-club entertainer and film actress, recently made some casual observations which may be of interest to the growing legions concerned about the future of American drama. Miss Horne, reporting for work in *Till the Clouds Roll By*, a screen biography of Jerome Kern, was being interviewed and photographed by representatives of *Ebony*, a Negro picture magazine. Her ambition, she informed her interviewer, is to be a straight actress.

"I'm very gratified that people accept my singing," Miss Horne said, "but that's frustration. I really wanted to be an actress." She continued: "It's easier for a colored person to be a singer than an actress. . . . Color is a factor. . . . A singer will be accepted when an actress is not."

Any fairly close observer of the stage will recognize the truth in Miss Horne's remarks. Evelyn Ellis, now cast in a supporting role in *Deep Are the Roots*, was for years an ingenue on the Harlem stage, playing everything from melodrama to tragic roles. She was one of a score or more of talented and versatile actresses who flourished on the nether side of the color line, half a dozen of whom immediately come to mind: Anita Bush, Abbie Mitchell, Ida Anderson, Ruth Cherry, Laura Bowman and Edna Thompson. Charles Gilpin arrested the attention of Broadway theatregoers in Drinkwater's *Abraham Lincoln* and was acclaimed in O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones*. Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree, the eminent English actor, was one of the few white stage fans who ever saw or heard of Gilpin's associates in the uptown theatre: Charles Olden, Laurence Chenault and Andrew Bishop. Sir Herbert, for an Englishman, was profuse in his praise of their abilities.

When Miss Horne was being interviewed she was probably thinking of numerous talented Negro actors who are unknown because the color bar denied them an opportunity to appear on the American stage. Her remarks are relevant to the current doldrums in the theatre, because full recognition of the Negro actor may be precisely what is needed to reinvigorate our stagnant drama. Virile drama always reflects dominant contemporary social interests, the "burning issues" of the time. Shakespeare wrote when kingship, representing nascent nationalism, was foremost in men's minds. Shaw and Ibsen came along when the winds of economic reform were blowing strong, and women were breaking out of their dolls' houses. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* reflected the rising tide of anti-slavery feeling. Today, the color line is the "hot" American problem, and also an explosive world problem, and the Negro actor may become its dramatic sparkplug.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

## PARADE

GLIMPSSES INTO THE WORLD of tomorrow featured the week. . . . Rocket ships loaded with passengers for the moon were envisaged by a scientist in Los Angeles. In the early stages of the earth-moon line, the trip may take as long as ninety hours; but later, the scientist revealed, the time will be cut materially. . . . Cheering news came to persons dreaming of a vacation on Mars. . . . An Eastern scientist predicted that filling-stations will soon be hung in interstellar space, permitting vacationists, businessmen, individuals just going for the ride, to make the 35,000,000-mile hop to Mars. . . .

The men cruising to the moon, Mars or similar future resorts will be wearing yellow pants. . . . The New York Men's Fashion Guild, after overcoming a minority element which favored pants in two-tone brown, decreed yellow pants with gray socks and ties for men of the future. The Guild felt that yellow—a happy color made gayer by gray—would beget a happier, gayer world of tomorrow. . . . A new approach to the domestic-help problem, an electronic device that makes cleaning the home unnecessary, was described by a Southern engineer. The device, by filtering out dust from the air entering the house and expelling cigarette-smoke, kitchen-and other interior-vapors, makes brooms, dust-pans, feather-dusters and maids as obsolete as the covered wagon. . . . The efforts to improve the home are based on the presumption

## FILMS

TWO SISTERS FROM BOSTON. In this cinematic *mélange*, both the highbrows and the lowbrows can find something to their liking. Make no mistake about it, here is a tasty musical that travels all the way from the Bowery to the Metropolitan Opera House as its story unwinds. Following the variety of its plot, the cast presents an amazing assortment of talent, with Jimmie Durante, Lauritz Melchior, Kathryn Grayson and June Allyson in the leading roles. Of course, Durante contributes a major part of comedy to the show. From start to finish he runs through his bag of tricks, and just how funny you find them depends primarily on how funny you find the Schnozzola. As for the tale itself, we are told how a Back Bay beauty takes a job in a Bowery beer-hall while seeking a career in grand opera. Miss Grayson is the high-spirited but determined lass who escapes from her haughty Boston family, is assisted by her sister (June Allyson) and the piano-playing Durante. In real fairy-tale fashion the heroine makes her operatic aspirations come true at the crucial moment, and treats the audience to some musical duets with Melchior, featuring compositions by Liszt and Mendelssohn. Light-hearted gaiety distinguishes this piece throughout—there are no dull moments, since comedy, music and some delightfully disarming business generously season the offering. Peter Lawford, Ben Blue and Isobel Elsom are others in the cast. Henry Koster's direction is tuned to the merry pattern. *Adults* are guaranteed an enjoyable interlude when they see this picture. (MGM)

JOHNNY COMES FLYING HOME. There is nothing that lifts this mediocre drama, built around the readjustment of a trio of aces to civilian life, from the limbo of undistinguished films. Richard Crane, Henry Morgan and Charles Russell are the three flyers who decide to start a flying freight-service between California and New York. Money plagues their efforts to provide sufficient planes, until one of the men wins a large prize as the test pilot of a newly developed jet plane. Fay Marlowe and Martha Stewart provide the feminine interest in a passable but unimportant diversion for the family. (Twentieth Century-Fox)

JUST BEFORE DAWN. The medical profession suffers again at Hollywood's hands in this mystery tale about the crime doctor who innocently administers poison to a diabetic instead of insulin. A few more murders take place before the physician is able to unmask the real criminal to the police. Warner Baxter has the role of the crime doctor. Even *adults* who like this kind of thriller will rate this second-class stuff. (Columbia) MARY SHERIDAN

that there will still be homes and family life in the world of tomorrow, a presumption not too well founded in view of the constantly rising divorce rate.

Recalling that Christ referred to "marriages" of divorced persons as adulterous unions, a nationally prominent Catholic leader drew up a new form for magistrates who witness the "marriages" of divorcees. . . . Modern complacency toward adultery may make this form a widely used one in tomorrow's world. . . . It runs as follows. . . . *Civil Officer*: Do you, John Woe, take this woman, June Shame, for your legal mistress? . . . *Man*: I do. . . . *C. O.*: Do you, June Shame, take this man, John Woe, for your legal paramour? . . . *Woman*: I do. . . . *C. O.*: Now join your hands and repeat after me: I, John Woe, take thee, June Shame, for my legal mistress for better but not for worse, in health but not in sickness, for richer but not for poorer, until circumstances do us part (Man repeats). . . . *C. O.*: I, June Shame, take thee, John Woe, for my legal paramour, for better but not for worse, in health but not in sickness, for richer but not for poorer until circumstances do us part (Woman repeats). . . . *C. O.*: Now place the ring upon her third finger and say after me: With this ring I thee wed and promise unto thee my infidelity (Man repeats). *C. O.* (closing book): I now pronounce you partners in adultery. JOHN A. TOOMEY

## CORRESPONDENCE

### PUBLIC-SCHOOL SYSTEM

EDITOR: AMERICA's editorial (March 16, 1946) reveals it is "crystal clear" that Father Blakely's statement, "Our first duty to the public school is not to pay taxes for its maintenance," means precisely "that money taken by the State . . . shall be used for all the children at school, excluding none." I should welcome the opportunity to gaze into AMERICA's magic crystal, or perhaps one needs clairvoyant powers to perceive the hidden meanings of statements left by the deceased. People who quote Father Blakely's statement seem to think that he was calling for a tax strike against the public schools, but perhaps they do not understand that Father Blakely didn't mean exactly what he was saying. "Don't pay your taxes for the public schools" was his way of saying that the Government should distribute its taxes equitably among all qualified schools.

AMERICA's editorial misses the point of my letter (March 16, 1946). I don't question the orthodoxy of AMERICA's editorial policy in regard to the public-school system, but I think it is high time for AMERICA to settle down to the difficult task of *fixing the responsibility* for the evils in public education about which so much has been written. Catholic educators are fully aware of the fallacy upon which public education rests, of its pseudo-preeminence and entrenchment in American life. Who is responsible? The school boards, the Government, the public-school professionals, or the people themselves?

AMERICA says we must "insist" that the State amend the laws which keep secular education "entrenched." Even in States where Catholics are in the majority, such "insistence" has produced no change in the laws. Although we cannot retreat one step in the defense of Catholic education, we can, I believe, be a little less belligerent in our criticism of public education, so that the sincere and hard-working public-school administrators will be more kindly disposed to give a hearing to the claims of Catholic education. Why keep sparring for a fight which as a minority we Catholics cannot win? How far can we go to integrate the Catholic schools with the public schools? Therein lies the practical solution of our problem.

(REV.) WILLIAM E. McMANUS, Asst. Director  
Washington, D. C. Dept. of Education, N.C.W.C.

[It is unfortunate that careful writers are so often quoted out of context and therefore equivalently misquoted. Father Blakely certainly suffered this fate in the sentence to which Father McManus took exception. In the pamphlet from which the sentence is taken, Father Blakely (in what immediately follows) stated: "We pay that tax under protest; not because we admit an obligation in justice. . . . We have paid our taxes in the past, and the least of the apprehensions which any State official can have is that we may refuse to pay them."—EDITOR]

### CANDY IN LENT

EDITOR: If Mary E. McLaughlin observes a Lenten program remotely akin to the one in her "sermonette," published in your March 16 issue, she may well be pardoned for not "giving up" candy or cigarettes. But her literary tears for the "sales decline" of Catholics in the candy business, with a nod of compassion to the cigarette, movie and liquor groups, sounds like special pleading.

Abstaining from what your appetites like or crave is the essence of mortification of the flesh. Why broadcast—in AMERICA—such views as Miss McLaughlin's, when children, in particular, learn their first real lessons in mortification by eschewing the sweet shops during Lent?

It used to be "reach for a chocolate" instead of a cigarette to cure the smoking habit. Looks like the candy-business boosters are getting their licks in all along the line.

Please pass the fish!

Newark, N. J.

JOHN A. MATTHEWS

### LABOR CONTRACTS

EDITOR: Father Masse's excellent article, "Labor's Finger in Management's Pie," which appeared in the February 2 issue, is exceedingly interesting and timely. The old shibboleths of free competition and free markets are being shouted again from the housetops and the banners of special privilege seem to be trying to float on the breeze from the same masthead as the Star Spangled Banner. It is good, therefore, to have the smoke cleared away from the rights and duties of both labor and management with the restraint and logic that Father Masse has used.

There is one phase of the present controversy between management and labor that I would like to know more about. I refer to the legal aspects of the "no strike clause" in the typical labor contract, such as the one that exists between United States Steel and the Union. We have all read Steel's complaint that the Union violated its contract in this respect when it went on strike. I have not seen Labor's answer. May I suggest that this would be a fruitful field for another article by Father Masse?

Rochester, N. Y.

HOWARD M. WOODS

[Regardless of legal obligation, which seems doubtful, no-strike clauses are morally binding. The President's fact-finding board declared that the steel strike was not a violation of contract. EDITOR]

### ST. VINCENT ON BEGGING

EDITOR: Anent the pros and cons of the clergy giving money to panhandlers, I should like to quote from a life of Saint Vincent de Paul, certainly an authority on the subject:

Vincent believed that the practice of begging induced laziness and so encouraged vice that it was the greatest obstacle in the way of salvation of the poor. He forbade it to those under his control, threatening to withdraw aid from them, and he requested his followers to refuse to give to beggars. His firmness on this point allowed no place for sentimentality.

On the day when, after pondering the lines of wandering, homeless men, broken with fatigue and hunger, and sleeping without a roof over them, he felt the desire to provide them at least temporary shelter and decided "that a refuge should be opened where they could obtain food and a bed and on the following morning two sous when they left," he established the first night refuge.

Quotations from Lavedan's *The Heroic Life of St. Vincent de Paul*, New York, 1929 (pp. 130, 131).

Grand Island, N. Y. (REV.) EDWARD S. SCHWEGLER

### PAPERS FOR DENMARK MISSION

EDITOR: The Reverend W. Vick, of St. Paul's Kapel, Ringdervej, Sonderborg, Denmark, is eager to receive some American magazines. A number of his parishioners can read English. Due to the stringent Danish laws, he cannot subscribe to foreign magazines.

Father Vick's parish includes the greater part of the old Duchy of Schleswig from Sonderborg to Kolding on the Baltic and as far north as Ribe on the North Sea. St. Paul's Kapel is a poor and small parish in the Danish Vicariate; but this zealous young priest is doing splendid work there.

The writer well remembers attending Mass at Sonderborg one Sunday morning in 1914. We swept the floors and arranged the altar while the missionary heard confessions in a small room next to the hall—a dance hall, perhaps a poor place to celebrate Mass, but faith and devotion were marked in that small mission.

Father Vick will gladly furnish any American Catholic magazine with news of the Church in Scandinavia. The address is: Father W. Vick, Sonderborg, Denmark.

Harrison, Neb.

(REV.) JOHN C. MADSEN

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## THE WORD

THE GOSPEL HAS been aptly described as the greatest of love stories: the history of God's love for man. "For God so loved the world as to give His only-begotten Son" (John 3:16); and that Son "having loved His own who were in the world . . . loved them to the end" (John 13:1). As far as most of the human beings in the Gospel are concerned, however, it might be epitomized as the tale of man's stupidity and unfathomable capacity for missing the point. One would think that a prayerful appraisal of our spiritual ancestors in the Scriptures should engender in us a deep distrust of self, a vital realization that all of our strength is from God (James 1:17). But this happy consummation remains a devout wish; example is lost on us; Edmund Burke's aphorism that most men will learn only from the bitterest of school-mistresses, experience, still obtains. The Gospel for the Fourth Sunday of Lent illustrates these remarks.

The people whom Our Lord addressed were spiritually adrift, sheep without a shepherd, and in their hearts was the consuming hunger which long before had been foretold: "not a famine of bread, nor a thirst of water, but of hearing the word of the Lord" (Amos 8:11). They were a conquered race, politically oppressed, economically insufficient and religion alone could have consoled them. But their religious leaders gave them a stone instead of doctrinal food. Then the rumor rose that out of Nazareth had come a great Master speaking truths of burning beauty, exalting the little and the weak, asserting that tears and mourning could be canonized (Matt. 5:3-10). Little wonder the crowds followed Him, "for He was teaching them as one having power, and not as the Scribes and Pharisees" (Matt. 7:29) and reinforcing His doctrine with miracles.

One day Christ saw that the people were wan and hungry and, turning to Philip, He gave him a splendid opportunity for an immortal act of faith by asking his advice on the problem of feeding the crowd. Christ consulted Philip "to try him," to let him discover whether his faith had matured sufficiently to turn instinctively to the Lord. But Philip calculated in his slow mind and concluded that even if there were a food mart nearby, their meager finances would not meet the bill. This was the same Philip who, at the Last Supper, after three years of intimacy with Christ, would still miss the point and elicit from Our Lord the patient remonstrance: "Have I been so long a time with you; and you have not known me?" (John 14:9).

Andrew pointed out a small boy with five loaves and two fishes as the only source of supply. Andrew, too, had seen Christ's miracles, knew His mastery over the elements; yet, like Philip, he saw only the human hopelessness of the situation and forgot the Divine power. "But what are these among so many?" he asked. Quietly, disappointedly, Christ had the people, some ten or eleven thousand of them, seated; He blessed the loaves and fishes and His disciples passed among the throng, distributing the inexhaustible food.

Only after their appetites had been sated and they saw the Apostles gathering twelve baskets of unneeded provisions did the people realize that they had eaten bread straight from God's creative granary and fish that never swam in any earthly sea. A murmur of admiration swelled to a shout of acclamation and they rushed at Christ to make Him their king; but He fled from them alone. He did not want their crown of gold; He knew that one day they would give Him a crown of thorns. He asked them only for their love; He would accept no substitutes. They, too, had missed the point.

From our superior vantage-point it is easy to observe and dissect the pedestrian Philip, the pragmatic Andrew, the benevolent but blinded crowd. We wonder at their stupidity and conveniently forget our own, overlooking the many times we, too, have felt helpless before a problem and have forgotten that Christ stands omnipotently ready to help us. Is it our automatic reaction to seek guidance and help from God, to remember that His Providence is around us sustaining, protecting and helping us? Do we give Christ what He asks for—our love and our hearts? If we caught the meaning of this Gospel our lives would be happier as well as holier. For the *Introit* (and invitation) of Laetare Sunday is not merely "Rejoice!" It is "Rejoice in the Lord." He is our strength, our sufficiency.

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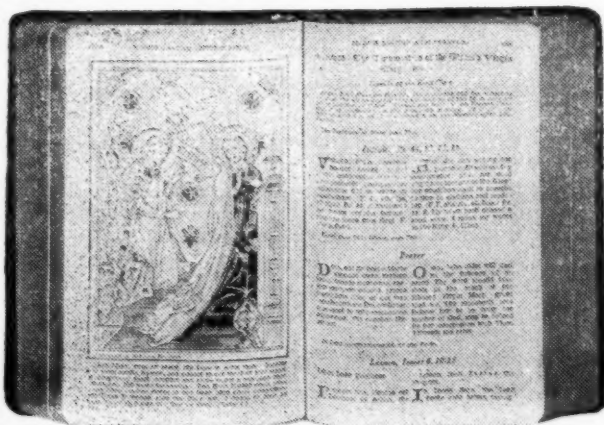
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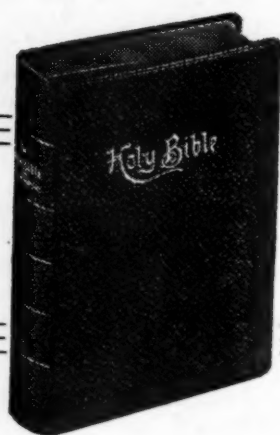
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## INDEX

Volume Seventy-Four

October 6, 1945

To

March 30, 1946

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A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK

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# INDEX

VOLUME LXXIV—OCTOBER 6, 1945 TO MARCH 30, 1946

- ADA, Sister Mary**  
Animals' carol; poem. 74:327 D 22 '45
- ADAMS, Anthony J.**  
Revolution in the classroom. 74:66-68 O 20 '45
- ADAMS, N. B.**  
State university surveys the humanities. Review. 74:519 F 9 '46
- AGRICULTURE**  
Agriculture in the international era. 74:339 D 29 '45
- Germany**  
Land reform in eastern Germany. 74:365 Ja 5 '46
- United States**  
Agricultural policy. 74:57 O 20 '45  
Farm Bureau states its platform. 74:395 Ja 12 '46  
Farmers' future. 74:295-96 D 15 '45  
Low incomes hurt farmers. 74:367 Ja 5 '46  
Mr. Bowles and the farmers. 74:606 Mr 16 '46  
Pressure on farm prices. 74:635 Mr 23 '46  
Reform at the grass roots. 74:144 N 10 '45  
Rural institute under college auspices. 74:586 Mr 9 '46  
Schools of agriculture. 74:566 Mr 2 '46  
Small business and the farmer. 74:170 N 17 '45
- Cooperative**  
Power on the land. 74:311 D 22 '45  
See also "Cooperative Associations"
- ALINSKY, Saul D.**  
Reveille for radicals. Review. 74:578 Mr 2 '46
- ALL SOULS' day**  
Holy souls. 74:116 N 3 '45
- ALTER, Karl J., bp.**  
Security and freedom: the American way. 74:548-9 F 23 '46
- AMERICAN Catholic theological association**  
Association of theologians. 74:506 F 9 '46
- AMERICAN farm bureau federation**  
Farm Bureau states its platform. 74:395 Ja 12 '46  
Iowa farm bureau defends coops. 74:283 D 15 '45
- AMERICANS and France.** See Messenger, Andre. 74:592-3 Mr 9 '46
- ANTHONY of Padua, Saint**  
Underscorings. 74:607 Mr 16 '46
- ANTI-clericalism.** 74:3 O 6 '45
- APTKEKER, Herbert**  
Essays in the history of the American Negro. Review. 74:355 D 29 '45
- ARGENTINA**  
Argentine immigration. 74:312 D 22 '45
- Politics and government**  
Argentine tragi-comedy. 74:37 O 27 '45  
Peron out. 74:57 O 20 '45  
Which way Peron? 74:574 Mr 2 '46
- ARNOLD, Elliott**  
Big distance. Review. 74:521 F 9 '46
- ART**  
Abstract art. Barry Byrne. 74:523 F 9 '46  
(Reply to by Jeremiah O'Connor) 74:563 F 23 '46  
Alfonso Iannelli. Barry Byrne. 74:111 O 27 '45  
Bellows, George. Barry Byrne. 74:603 Mr 9 '46  
Catholic art. Michael J. O'Connor, M.M. 74:583 F 23 '46  
Grant Wood's patron. Barry Byrne. 74:251 D 1 '45  
Great art and personality. Thomas L. O'Brien. 74:556-7 F 23 '46  
Marks of Catholic art. Thomas L. O'Brien. 74:353 D 29 '45  
War memorials. Barry Byrne. 74:27 O 6 '45  
Where's our Raphael? Charles F. Donovan. 74:437-39 Ja 19 '46
- Exhibitions**  
Fifty-sixth annual American exhibition. Barry Byrne. 74:391 J 5 '46
- ASCH, Sholem**  
One destiny. Review. 74:21-22 O 6 '45
- ASKWITH, Herbert**  
This way to unity. Review. 74:356 D 29 '45
- ATOMIC Bombs**  
Approval of America's stand. 74:279 D 8 '45  
C.A.I.P. on atomic age. 74:197 N 24 '45  
Fear of the atom bomb. 74:449 Ja 26 '46  
International order in the atomic age. Charles Keenan. 74:12-13 O 6 '45  
Is the bomb a deterrent? 74:312 D 22 '45  
Thoughts on. 74:27 O 6 '45  
Washington front. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:481 F 2 '46
- ATOMIC power**  
Atomic dream. 74:222 N 24 '45  
Attlee, Eden and the atom. 74:225 D 1 '45  
Washington front. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:587 Mr 9 '46; 74:627 Mr 23 '46
- Control**  
Atomic policy. 74:210 N 24 '45  
Control of atomic energy. John Lafarge. 74:174-76 N 17 '45  
Control of atomic energy. 74:142 N 10 '45
- AUGUR, Helen**  
Passage to glory. Review. 74:580 Mr 2 '46
- AUSTRALIA**  
How Australia was saved. Conrad H. Lanza. 74:346-48 D 29 '45
- AUSTRIA**  
**Politics and government**  
Austria after the elections. Peter Berger. 74:342 D 29 '45  
Austria votes. 74:254 D 8 '45
- AZERSBAIJAN**  
Iranian incident. 74:338 D 29 '45
- B**
- BAERWALD, Friedrich**  
Morgenthau's plan analyzed. 74:90-92 O 27 '45
- BAKER, John R.**  
Science and the planned state. Review. 74:539 F 16 '46
- BALKAN STATES**  
Balkan mess. 74:450 Ja 26 '46
- BALLOU, Robert O.**  
Shinto, the unconquered enemy. Review. 74:273-74 D 8 '45
- BALTIC STATES**  
Some Baltic queries. 74:450 Ja 26 '46
- BARING, Maurice.** John Hazard Wildman. 74:636-37 Mr 23 '46
- BARSCHNAK, Erna**  
My American adventure. Review. 74:498 F 2 '46
- BARTH, Ramona Sawyer**  
Fiery angel: the story of Florence Nightingale. Review. 74:661 Mr 30 '46
- BEARD, Mary R.**  
Woman as force in history. Review. 74:638 Mr 23 '46
- BELGIUM**  
**Politics and government**  
Report from Belgium. Robert A. Graham. 74:573 Mr 2 '46
- BELLOWS, George**  
Art. Barry Byrne. 74:605 Mr 9 '46
- BENNETT, Jean**  
Virginia Woolf: her art as a novelist. Review. 74:387 Ja 5 '46
- BENTON, William**  
Culture and Mr. Benton. 74:535 F 16 '46
- BERGER, Peter**  
Austria after the elections. 74:342-3 D 29 '45
- BETHELL, S. L.**  
Shakespeare and the dramatic tradition. Review. 74:191 N 17 '45
- BIBLE**  
The Bible. 74:554 F 23 '46
- BILL, Alfred Hoyt**  
Beleaguered city. Review. 74:519 F 9 '46
- BIRTH CONTROL**  
Birth-control issue. 74:506 F 9 '46
- BOGGS, Tom**  
Constant mistress. Review. 74:621 Mr 16 '46
- BONTEMPS, Arna**  
We have tomorrow. Review. 74:355 D 29 '45
- BOOK REVIEWS**  
After Bernadette. Don Sharkey. 74:22 O 6 '45  
Agriculture in an unstable economy. Theodore W. Schultz. 74:495 F 2 '46  
America is West: an anthology of Middle-western life and literature. John T. Flanagan, editor. 74:187 N 17 '45  
Aragon: poet of the French resistance. Malcolm Cowley and Hannah Josephson. 74:467 Ja 26 '46  
Arch of triumph. Erich Maria Remarque. 74:466 Ja 26 '46  
Art of Newman's apologia. Walter E. Houghton. 74:560 F 23 '46  
At home with music. Sigmund Spaeth. 74:415 Ja 12 '46  
Ballad of the bones and other poems. Byron Herbert Reese. 74:187-88 N 17 '45  
Before the sun goes down. Elizabeth Mitzger Howard. 74:601 Mr 9 '46  
Beleaguered City. Alfred Hoyt Bill. 74:519 F 9 '46  
Bewitched lands. Adolfo Costa Du Rels. 74:162-63 N 10 '45  
Big distance. Donald Hough and Elliott Arnold. 74:521 F 9 '46  
Black metropolis. St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton. 74:160-62 N 10 '45  
Bound with two chains Alexander Janta. 74:469 Ja 26 '46  
Brazil. Preston E. James. 74:641 Mr 23 '46  
Brideshead revisited. Evelyn Waugh. 74:411 Ja 12 '46
- Cass Timberlane.** Sinclair Lewis. 74:13-14 O 6 '45  
Catholic looks at the world. Francis L. McMahon. 74:658 Mr 30 '46  
Challenge at Changsha. Paul Hughes. 74:541 F 16 '46  
Challenged land. Betty de Sherbinin. 74:242 F 23 '46  
Chief Justice Stone and the Supreme Court. Samuel J. Konefsky. 74:414 Ja 12 '46  
Chinese village. Martin C. Yang. 74:271 D 8 '45  
Christ unconquered Arthur J. Little. S. J. 74:516-17 F 9 '46  
Christian Answer. Henry P. Van Dusen. Editor. 74:49 O 13 '45  
Christine Roux. Thames Williamson. 74:23 D 29 '45  
Ciano diaries. Hugh Gibson, Editor. 74:317 F 9 '46  
Constant mistress. Tom Boggs. 74:621 Mr 16 '46  
Count us in. Sterling Brown. 74:356 D 29 '45  
Courts and cabinets. G. P. Gooch. 74:273 Mr 2 '46  
Dark was the wilderness. P. W. O'Grady and Dorothy Dunn. 74:471 Ja 26 '46  
Days and nights. Constantine Simionescu. 74:273 D 8 '45  
Egg and I. Betty MacDonald. 74:441 Ja 12 '46  
Elizabeth and Leicester. Milton Waldman. 74:299 D 15 '45  
Encyclopedia of the Negro. W. E. B. Du Bois and Guy B. Johnson. 74:356 D 29 '45  
Endless horizons. Vannevar Bush. 74:438 Mr 23 '46  
Essays in the history of the American Negro. Herbert Aptheker. 74:355 D 29 '45  
European manifesto. Pierre de Lanux. 74:3 O 20 '45  
Exile in the stars. James J. Donohue. 74:28 F 23 '46  
Farmer's last frontier: Agriculture, 1880-1897. Fred A. Shannon. 74:75-76 O 20 '45  
Federalism and regionalism in Germany: the division of Prussia. Arnold Brecht. 74:443 Ja 19 '46  
Fellow  
74:271 D 8 '45  
Field work in college education. Helen Merrell Lynd. 74:559 F 23 '46  
Fiery angel: story of Florence Nightingale. Ramona Sawyer Barth. 74:661 Mr 30 '46  
Flight from China. Edna Lee Booker. 74:78-79 O 20 '45  
Flower of grace. Emile Cammaerts. 74:245-46 D 1 '45  
Flowering tree. Caryll Houselander. 74:187-88 N 17 '45  
Forever China. Robert Payne. 74:271-72 D 8 '45  
Forever possess. Alexandra Phillips. 74:621 Mr 16 '46  
Four essays on Gulliver's Travels. Arthur E. Case. 74:498 F 2 '46  
Francesca Cabrini: without staff or script. Lucille Papin Borden. 74:106-7 O 27 '45  
Free State: some considerations of the practical value. Denis William Broughton. 74:103 O 27 '45  
Freedom under planning. Barbara Weston. 74:538 F 16 '46  
Friendly persuasion. Jessamyn West. 74:414 Ja 12 '46  
From one convert to another. Joseph M. Riach. 74:470 Ja 26 '46  
Gauntlet. James Street. 74:274 D 8 '45  
Gerard Manley Hopkins. Kenyon Critch. 74:539 F 16 '46  
German talks back. Heinrich Hamer. 74:105-6 O 27 '45  
Gold in the streets. Mary Vardoulakis. 74:413 J 26 '46  
Great divorce. C. S. Lewis. 74:618 Mr 16 '46  
Great friend: Frederick Ozanam. A. J. Schimberg. 74:599 Mr 9 '46  
Growth of constitutional power in the United States. Carl Brent Swisher. 74:27 Mr 2 '46  
Guerrilla wife. Louise Reid Spencer. 74:544 O 13 '45  
Heritage of fire. Friedelind Wagner. 74:25 D 8 '45  
High Barbaree. Charles Nordhoff and James Norman Hall. 74:247 D 1 '45  
Historical records and studies. Vol. XXXIV. T. J. McMahon, S.T.D., Editor. 74:247 D 1 '45  
History of psychology. Robert Brenman. O.P. 74:243 D 1 '45  
How we influence one another. Vincent T. Herr. 74:496 F 2 '46  
Human leadership in industry. Sam A. Lewisohn. 74:247 D 1 '45

## BOOK REVIEWS (Continued)

- Human life of Jesus. John Erskine. 74: 159-60 N 10 '45  
 Immortal village. Donald Culross Peattie. 74:133-34 N 3 '45  
 In the blazing light. Max White. 74:521 F 9 '46  
 Inside Rome with the Germans. Jane Scrivener. 74:131 N 3 '45  
 Inter-American affairs, 1944. Arthur P. Whitaker, Editor. 74:358 D 29 '45  
 International trade and domestic employment. Calvin B. Hoover. 74:442 J 19 '46  
 Intruders. Robert Bright. 74:659 Mr 30 '46  
 Italian democracy in the making: the political scene in the Giolittian era, 1900-1914. A. William Salomone. 74:600 Mr 9 '46  
 Italy and the coming world. Luigi Sturzo. 74:104-5 O 27 '45  
 Japan and the Son of Heaven. Willard Price. 74:190-91 N 17 '45  
 John Henry Newman: an expository and critical study of his mind, thought and art. Charles Frederick Harrold. 74:328-29 D 22 '45  
 John Henry Newman. John Moody. 74: 48-49 O 13 '45  
 King's general. Daphne du Maurier. 74:439 Ja 19 '46  
 Kitchen fugue. Sheila Kaye-Smith. 74:20-21 O 6 '45  
 Labor today and tomorrow. Aaron Levenstein. 74:495 F 2 '46  
 Lake Erie. Harlan Hatcher. 74:411 Ja 12 '46  
 Last mountains: the story of the Cascades. Robert Ormond Case and Victoria Case. 74:107 D 27 '45  
 Lay my burden down. E. A. Botkin. 74:355 D 29 '45  
 Legend of a musical city. Max Graf. 74:561 F 23 '46  
 Lights out. Baynard Kendrick. 74:301 D 15 '45  
 Lovely is the Lee. Robert Gibbings. 74:243-44 D 1 '45  
 Man and society: the Scottish inquiry of the eighteenth century. Gladys Bryson. 74:469 Ja 26 '46  
 Mark Twain: business man. Samuel Charles Webster. 74:558 F 23 '46  
 Marriage of Josephine. Marjorie Coryn. 74:497 F 2 '46  
 Men under stress. Roy R. Grinker and John P. Spiegel. 74:189-90 N 17 '45  
 Mexican village. Josephina Niggli. 74:135 N 3 '45  
 Mind the Mass. Joseph A. Dunney. 74:540 Ja 16 '46  
 Molders of opinion. David Bulman. 74:498 F 2 '46  
 Most secret. Nevil Shute. 74:188-89 N 17 '45  
 My American adventure. Erna Barschak. 74:498 F 2 '46  
 My head and my heart: a little history of Thomas Jefferson and Maria Cosway. Helen Duprey Bullock. 74:386 Ja 5 '46  
 My twenty-five years in China. John B. Powell. 74:439 J 19 '46  
 Nationalism and after. Edward Hallett Carr. 74:131-33 N 3 '45  
 Negro Catholic writers: 1900-1943. Sister Mary Anthony. 74:356 D 29 '45  
 No time for silence. Sylvia Lombroso. 74:359 D 29 '45  
 North, east, south, west: regional anthology of American writing. Charles Lee, Editor. 74:440 Ja 19 '46  
 North wind of love. Compton Mackenzie. 74:441 Ja 19 '46  
 Not in our stars. Josiah E. Greene. 74:50 O 13 '45  
 One destiny. Sholem Asch. 74:21-22 O 6 '45  
 Out of carnage. Alexander R. Griffin. 74:189 N 17 '45  
 Pan-American yearbook: 1945. Pan-American Associates. 74:302 D 15 '45  
 Pascal and his sister Jacqueline. M. V. Woodgate. 74:496 F 2 '46  
 Passage to glory. Helen Augur. 74:580 Mr 2 '46  
 Pay dirt: farming and gardening with composts. J. L. Rodale. 74:75-76 O 20 '45  
 Penitential primer. Katherine Hoskins. 74:187-88 N 17 '45  
 Perennial philosophy. Aldous Huxley. 74: 299 D 15 '45  
 Perilous fight. Neil H. Swanson. 74:385 Ja 5 '46  
 Plantation parade: the grandiose manner in Louisiana. Harnett Kane. 74:383 J 5 '46  
 Ploughman of the moon. Robert Service. 74:302 D 15 '45  
 Poems. Franz Werfel. 74:581 Mr 2 '46  
 Portrait of a marriage. Pearl Buck. 74:470 Ja 26 '46  
 Primer for white folks. Bucklin Moon. 74:356 D 29 '45  
 Quebec et l'Eglise aux Etats-Unis sous Mgr. Briand et Mgr. Pleissis. Laval Laurier, O.F.M. 74:580 Mr 2 '46  
 Quest of Henry James. F. W. Dupee, Editor. 74:271 D 8 '45  
 Red Rain. Leslie Kark. 74:637 Mr 23 '46  
 Retreat for religious. Andrew Green, O.S.B. 74:51 O 13 '45  
 Revell for radicals. Saul D. Alinsky. 74:578 Mr 2 '46  
 Rime, gentlemen, please. Robert Farren. 74:187-88 N 17 '45  
 Rival partners: America and Britain in the postwar world. Keith Hutchison. 74:620 Mr 16 '46  
 Rudyard Kipling. Hilton Brown. 74:660 Mr 30 '46  
 Russia I believe in: memoirs of Samuel N. Harper. 74:77-78 O 20 '45  
 Science and the planned state. John R. Baker. 74:539 F 16 '46  
 Science, liberty and peace. Aldous Huxley. 74:619 Mr 19 '46  
 Seasonal farm labor in the United States. Harry Schwartz. 74:357 D 29 '45  
 Self-revelation of the adolescent boy. Urban H. Fleege. 74:467 Ja 26 '46  
 Shakespeare and the dramatic tradition. S. L. Bethell. 74:191 N 17 '45  
 Shenandoah. Julia Davis. 74:386 Ja 5 '46  
 Shinto, the unconquered enemy. Robert O. Ballou. 74:273-74 D 8 '45  
 Short is the time. C. Day Lewis. 74:187-88 N 17 '45  
 Soldier of democracy: biography of Dwight Eisenhower. Kenneth Davis. 74:412 Ja 12 '46  
 Song of the Dnieper. Zalman Shneour. 74:159 N 10 '45  
 Soviet Far Eastern policy: 1931-1945. Harriet L. Moore. 74:383 J 5 '46  
 Spirit of English history. A. L. Rowse. 74:303 D 15 '45  
 Spiritual doctrine of Father Louis Lallemand. S.J. preceded by an account of his life by Father Champion. Alan G. McDougall, Editor. 74:600 Mr 9 '46  
 Splendor of the rosary. Maisie Ward. 73:131 N 3 '45  
 Star of the unborn. Franz Werfel. 74:598 Mr 9 '46  
 State university surveys the humanities. L. C. MacKinney, N. B. Adams and H. K. Russell. 74:519 F 9 '46  
 "Stepchildren" of France. Charles Odic. 74:134 N 3 '45  
 Systematic politics. Charles E. Merriam. 74:330 D 22 '45  
 Talking to the moon. John Joseph Mathews. 74:22-23 O 6 '45  
 That's all that matters. Oscar Williams. 74:187-88 N 17 '45  
 Time remembered. Laurie Hillyer. 74:413 Ja 12 '46  
 The Trollope: the chronicle of a writing family. Lucy Poate Stebbins and Richard Poate Stebbins. 74:300 D 15 '45  
 This way to unity. Arnold Herrick and Herbert Askwith. 74:356 D 29 '45  
 Universal military training. Edward A. Fitzpatrick. 74:244-45 D 1 '45  
 Unspeakables. Laverne Gay. 74:439 Ja 19 '46  
 Use of the drama. Harley Granville-Barker. 74:163 N 10 '45  
 Virginia Woolf: her art as a novelist. Joan Bennett. 74:387 Ja 5 '46  
 War and the poet. Richard Eberhardt and Selden Rodman. 74:329-30 D 22 '45  
 Waste land. Jo Sinclair. 74:637 Mr 23 '46  
 We are the wounded. Keith Wheeler. 74: 520 F 9 '46  
 We have tomorrow. Arna Bontemps. 74:355 D 29 '45  
 Western Island or the Great Blasket. Robin Flower. 74:134 N 3 '45  
 Wildcaters: an informal history of all hunting in America. Samuel W. Tait, Jr. 74:640 Mr 23 '46  
 Winter meeting. Ethel Vance. 74:640 Mr 23 '46  
 With sirens screaming. Ernest Booth. 74:23 O 6 '45  
 Woman as force in history. Mary R. Beard. 74:638 Mr 23 '46  
 Years of victory: 1802-1812. Arthur Bryant. 74:76-77 O 20 '45  
**BOOKER, Edna Lee**  
 Flight from China. Review. 74:78-79 O 20 '45  
**BOOKS and reading**  
 Balancing the books with America. 74-I-XXIV D 8 '45  
 Children's books from war-torn England. Mary Kiely. 74:185-86 N 17 '45  
 Children's books in an atomic age. Harold C. Gardiner. 74:213 N 24 '45  
 On the children's shelves. 74:214 N 24 '45  
**BOOKS and doors**  
 Francis Sweeney. 74:493-4 F 2 '46  
**BOOTH, Ernest**  
 With sirens screaming. Review. 74:23 O 6 '45  
**BORDEN, Lucille Papin**  
 Francesca Cabrini; without staff or scrip. Review. 74:106-7 O 27 '45  
**BOTKIN, E. A.**  
 Lay my burden down. Review. 74:355 D 29 '45  
**BOYS TOWN, Bombay.** 74:385 Mr 9 '46  
**BRADY, Charles A.**  
 Apple tree in winter; poem. 74:47 O 13 '45  
**BRADY, Daniel**  
 More work for teacher. 74:631 Mr 23 '46  
**BRADY PLAN in a Detroit school.** Sister Mary, I.H.M. 74:510-11 F 9 '46  
**BRAZIL**  
 And now Brazil. 74:141 N 10 '45  
**BRECHT, Arnold**  
 Federalism and regionalism in Germany: the division of Prussia. Review. 74:443 Ja 19 '46  
**BRENNAN, Robert, O.P.**  
 History of psychology. Review. 74:243 Ja 1 '46  
**BRIGHT, Robert**  
 Intruders. Review. 74:659 Mr 30 '46  
**BRITISH Constitution for America?** Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., Jerry Voorhis, Gerard F. Yates, S.J. 74:650-52 Mr 30 '46  
**BROGAN, Denis William**  
 Free state: some consideration on its practical value. Review. 74:103 O 27 '45  
**BROTHERHOOD of the extended palm.** Luke M. Ciampi. 74:208-9 N 24 '45  
**BROWN, Wilton**  
 Rudyard Kipling. Review. 74:660 Mr 30 '46  
**BROWN, Sterling**  
 Count us in. Review. 74:356 D 29 '45  
**BRYANT, Arthur**  
 Years of victory: 1802-1812. Review. 74:76-77 O 20 '45  
**BRYSAN, Gladys**  
 Man and society: the Scottish inquiry of the eighteenth century. Review. 74:469 Ja 26 '46  
**BUCK, Pearl**  
 Portrait of a marriage. Review. 74:470 Ja 26 '46  
**BUDENZ, Louis F.**  
 "Daily Worker" loses an editor. 74:59 O 20 '45  
**BULGARIA**  
 And now Bulgaria. 74:228 D 1 '45  
**BULLOCK, Helen Duprey**  
 My head and my heart: a little history of Thomas Jefferson and Maria Cosway. Review. 74:386 Ja 5 '46  
**BULMAN, David**  
 Molders of opinion. Review. 74:498 F 2 '46  
**BUSH, Vannevar**  
 Endless horizons. Review. 74:639 Mr 23 '46  
 National research. 74:100 O 27 '45  
 New age in American science. Philip S. 74:94-95 O 27 '45  
**BUSINESS**  
 Small business and the farmer. 74:170 N 17 '45  
**BYRNE, Barry (See ART)**  
**BYRNES, James F.**  
 Byrnes and Vandenberg. 74:614 Mr 16 '46  
**C**  
**CALIBAN and the critics.** Louis F. Doyle. 74:269-70 D 8 '45  
**CALIFORNIA**  
 California's disgrace. Joseph A. Vaughan. 74:8-9 O 6 '45  
 First for California. 74:144 N 10 '45  
 Sterilization laws. 74:83 O 20 '45  
**CANNAERTS, Emile**  
 Flower of grace. Review. 74:245-46 D 1 '45  
**CANADA**  
**Art and Literature**  
 Quebec letter. 74:382 Ja 5 '46  
 Two recent French-Canadian novels. Patrick Mary Plunkett, S.J. 74:241-42 D 1 '45  
**CAPITALISM**  
 Enemies of capitalism. 74:128 N 3 '45  
**CARDINALS**  
 Cardinal Glennon. 74:625 Mr 23 '46  
 Cardinal Tien. 74:627 Mr 23 '46  
 Consistories: past and present. Elena Ros-pigliosi. 74:568-9 Mr 2 '46  
 Everybody's cardinals. 74:545 F 23 '46  
 New cardinals. 74:379 Ja 5 '46  
 Old and new. 74:574 Mr 2 '46  
**CARR, Edward Hallett**  
 Nationalism and after. Review. 74:131-33 N 3 '45  
**CARSON, John**  
 America's housing story. 74:286-87. D 15 '45  
 74:320-21 D 22 '45

- CASE, Arthur E.**  
Four essays on Gulliver's travels. Review. 74:498 F 2 '46
- CASE, Robert Ormond and Victoria**  
Last mountains; the story of the Cascades. Review. 74:107 O 27 '45
- CATHOLIC action**  
Catholics in community life. 74:603 Mr 9 '46
- CATHOLIC book week.** Harold C. Gardiner. 74:129-30 N 3 '45
- CATHOLIC Church**  
Association of theologians. 74:506 F 9 '46  
Candelmas. 74:480 F 2 '46  
Catholic education and the Negro. 74:452 Ja 26 '46  
Catholics in community life. 74:603 Mr 9 '46
- Church and Nazis.** 74:127-28 N 3 '45  
Church and the world. John LaFarge. 74:591-2 Mr 9 '46  
"Liberal" Catholics. 74:200 N 24 '45  
New cardinals. 74:379 Ja 5 '46  
Old and new. 74:574 Mr 2 '46  
Papal allocution: Christmas, 1945. John Courtney Murray. 74:370-71 Ja 5 '46  
Purpose of liturgical movement. Adrian F. Winkel. 74:335 D 22 '45  
"Reaction." 74:505 F 9 '46  
Ruthenian "Apostasy." 74:655 Mr 30 '46  
Saint Joseph: Patron of the Church. Francis L. Filas, S.J. 74:235-36 D 1 '45  
Trent and Christian unity. 74:309 D 22 '45  
See also "Pax Romana"
- CATHOLIC Church in Africa**  
Catholic college in Basutoland. 74:172 N 17 '45
- CATHOLIC Church in Czechoslovakia**  
Slovakia suffers. 74:492 F 2 '46  
Truth about Czech Catholics. 74:646 Mr 10 '46
- CATHOLIC Church in Denmark**  
Pers for Denmark mission. Rev. John C. Madsen. 74:663 Mr 30 '46
- CATHOLIC Church in Germany**  
IG and the Church. 74:352 D 29 '45  
German Catholics in war and peace. Franz Werdemann. 74:508-9 F 9 '46  
German Catholic resistance. 74:312 D 22 '45
- CATHOLIC Church in India**  
Catholic literature for India. Benjamin T. Crawford. 74:475 Ja 26 '46
- CATHOLIC Church in Japan**  
Underscorings. 74:567 Mr 2 '46
- CATHOLIC Church in Poland**  
Religious liberty in Poland. 74:115 N 3 '45  
Religious liberty in pre-war Poland. 74:142 N 10 '45  
What of the past? 74:116 N 3 '45
- CATHOLIC Church in Spain**  
Ripalda Catechism. 74:605 Mr 16 '46
- CATHOLIC Church in the United States**  
Catholic line. 74:144 N 10 '45  
Catholicism and the U. S. Naval Academy. Cecelia M. Fahy. 74:264-65 D 8 '45  
Mother Theresa Maxis Duchemin. Joseph B. Code. 74:317-19 D 22 '45  
Protestant line. 74:144 N 10 '45  
Rural apostolate to the fore. 74:626 Mr 23 '46
- CATHOLIC Church and politics**  
Priests and politics. 74:655 Mr 30 '46  
Secular state. 74:464 Ja 26 '46  
Theology and politics. 74:256 D 8 '45
- CATHOLIC Church and social problems**  
Evolution in Spain. 74:479 F 2 '46  
Inter-American seminar. John LaFarge. 74:454-56 Ja 26 '46  
Social question in Spain. 74:451 Ja 26 '46  
Social thought of Cardinals-designate. 74:421 Ja 19 '46
- CATHOLIC Press**  
Diocesan press. Edwin Niederberger. 74:643 Mr 23 '46  
Underscorings. 74:507 F 9 '46; 74:527 F 16 '46; 74:547 F 23 '46
- CATHOLIC university forum.** 74:199 N 24 '45
- CAYTON, Horace R. and St. Clair Drake**  
Black metropolis. Review. 74:160-62 N 10 '45
- CHARITIES**  
Brotherhood of the extended palm. Luke M. Ciampi. 74:208-209 N 24 '45  
Easy pickings? Luke M. Ciampi. 74:596 Mr 9 '46  
Or proud targets? John M. Cogley. 74:597 Mr 9 '46
- CHILD Labor**  
When children work. Mary J. McCormick. 74:260-62 D 8 '45
- CHILDREN**  
Homes for Europe's children. J. Brooks Costello, S.J. 74:583 Mr 2 '46  
Sacrifice for stunted youth. 74:625 Mr 23 '46
- CHILDREN'S books in an atomic age.** Harold C. Gardiner. 74:213 N 24 '45
- CHINA**  
Children wonder. 74:565 Mr 2 '46  
China friendship day. 74:32 O 13 '45  
Peace comes to Shanghai. James F. Kearney. 74:511-13 F 9 '46  
Power alignments in China. 74:253 D 8 '45  
The United States expects every man. 74:281 D 15 '45
- Politics and government**  
China crisis. 74:155-56 N 10 '45  
China's hard road to democracy. Harry W. Flannery. 74:263-64 D 8 '45  
Chinese Communists. 74:340 D 29 '45  
Fate of China. 74:545 F 23 '46  
Toward a unified China. 74:436 Ja 19 '46
- CHRISTMAS**  
Christmas. 74:322 D 22 '45  
Christmas in Claudel. Sister Mary David. 74:325 D 22 '45  
Christmas on the rock. Dave Prudhomme. 74:316 D 22 '45  
Community outdoor Christmas cribs. Aulene Bordeaux Eberhardt. 74:262-63 D 8 '45  
Edict of Caesar. A. J. Pillé. 74:314-15 D 22 '45  
Wilderness Christmas. Frances E. Rollins. 74:325 D 22 '45
- CHURCH and the world.** John LaFarge. 74:591-2 Mr 9 '46
- CHURCH unity**  
Church unity octave. 74:406 Ja 12 '46  
Church unity octave (reply to by William Doran). 74:503 F 2 '46  
Road blocks to Christian union. Frank H. Sampson. 74:400-2 Ja 12 '46
- CHURCHILL, Winston**  
Mr. Churchill's proposals. Benjamin L. Masse. 74:628-29 Mr 23 '46
- CIAMPI, Luke M.**  
Brotherhood of the extended palm. 74:208-9 N '45  
(Reply to by John Cogley) 74:597 Mr 9 '46  
Easy Pickings? 74:596 Mr 9 '46  
(Reply to by Edward S. Schwegeler). 74:663 Mr 30 '46
- CINIKAS, Peter P.**  
Lithuania can only dream. 74:531-32 F 16 '46
- CIVIL RIGHTS**  
Civil rights in Hawaii. 74:586 Mr 9 '46  
Human rights. 74:634 Mr 23 '46  
In the matter of Yamashita. 74:632-33 Mr 23 '46  
Moral Munich? 74:14 O 6 '45  
Nisel decision. 74:70 O 20 '45  
UNO affirms the freedoms. Robert A. Graham. 74:608-9 Mr 16 '46
- CLAUDEL, Paul**  
Christmas in Claudel. Sister Mary David. 74:325 D 22 '45
- CODE, Joseph B.**  
Mother Theresa Maxis Duchemin. 74:317-19 D 22 '45  
(Reply to by Mother M. Praxides, O.S.P.) 74:523 F 9 '46
- COGLEY, John M.**  
Or proud targets? 74:597 Mr 9 '46
- COMMITTEE for economic development**  
CED on jobs. 74:114 N 3 '45
- COMMUNISM**  
Chinese communists. 74:340 D 29 '45  
CIO Reds rebuffed. 74:555 F 23 '46  
Stalin's campaign speech. 74:554 F 23 '46  
Whither the Russian Revolution? Walde-mar Gurian. 74:539-91 Mr 9 '46
- CONGRESS of Industrial Organization**  
CIO Reds rebuffed. 74:555 F 23 '46  
CIO: threat or promise? J. C. Kelleher. 74:563 F 23 '46
- CONSISTORIES**  
Consistories: past and present. Elena Ros-diffosi. 74:568-69 Mr 2 '46
- CONSTITUTION is at fault.** Jerome G. Kerwin, Moorhouse F. X. Millar, William R. Frasca, R. C. Hartnett, Clarence J. Ryan. 74:523-30 F 16 '46  
See also United States Politics and government.
- CONWAY, Margaret Devereux**  
Newman in retrospect. 74:6-8 O 6 '45  
To our Lady of Czestochowa; poem 74:242 D 1 '45
- COOPERATIVE associations**  
Cooperative answer. 74:170 N 17 '45  
Cooperatives and the United Nations. 74:626 Mr 23 '46  
Decade of homesteading. Patrick T. Quinlan. 74:346-49 D 29 '45  
Iowa Farm Bureau defends co-ops. 74:283 D 15 '45  
Power Co-ops carry on. 74:606 Mr 16 '46  
Sien by the side of the road. Pearl P. Puckett. 74:612-13 Mr 16 '46  
Taxation of cooperatives. 74:228 D 1 '45
- CORYN, Marjorie**  
Marriage of Josephine. Review. 74:497 F 2 '46
- COUNCIL of foreign ministers (London)**  
After London. 74:43-44 O 13 '45  
Drift to blocs. 74:1 O 6 '45  
London deadlock. 74:1 O 6 '45
- COWLEY, Malcolm**  
Aragon: poet of the French resistance. Review. 74:467 Ja 26 '46
- CRASHAW, Richard**  
Recalling Richard Crashaw. M. Whitcomb Hess. 74:381-2 Ja 5 '46
- CRIME and criminals**  
No preference as to crooks. 74:311 D 22 '45
- CRITICS**  
Critics and critics. Sister Rose Marie. 74:465-66 Ja 26 '46
- CROSBY, Ethel T.**  
A mother looks at peacetime conscription. 74:289-91 D 15 '45
- CROWLEY, Wilfrid H.**  
Betrayal of peace. 74:447 Ja 19 '46
- CUBA**  
Cuba still dissents. 74:87 O 27 '45  
Cuba still dissents (reply to by Ignacio Gomez Robledo, S.J.). 74:195 N 17 '45
- CZECHO-SLOVAKIA**  
Letter from Victor Drapela. 74:55 O 11 '45  
Occupied Czechoslovakia. 74:505 F 9 '46  
Sudeten expulsions. 74:363 D 29 '45  
Truth about Czech Catholics. 74:646 Mr 30 '46  
Velehrad. 74:172 N 17 '45
- D**
- DANCING**  
Dancing-days. Sister Mary Jeremy. 74:594-57 Mr 30 '46
- D'ARCY, Martin**  
Genius of Newman. 74:34-36 O 13 '45
- DAVID, Sister Mary**  
Christmas in Claudel. 74:325 D 22 '45
- DAVIS, Julia**  
Shenandoah. Review. 74:386 Ja 5 '46
- DAVIS, Kenneth**  
Soldier of democracy: biography of Dwight D. Eisenhower. Review. 74:412 Ja 12 '46
- DELANEY, John P.**  
"Vaya usted con Dios." 74:88 O 27 '45
- De LANUX, Pierre.** European manifesto. Review. 74:79 O 20 '45
- DEMOCRACY**  
Democracy and religion. 74:60 O 20 '45  
Democracy or dictatorship. 74:396 Ja 11 '46  
Theology and politics. 74:256 D 8 '45
- De SHERBININ, Betty**  
Challenged land. Review. 74:561 F 23 '46
- DEVER, Joseph**  
Up the Inman. 74:101-3 O 27 '45
- DeVITO, Ethel Barnett**  
October; poem. 74:47 O 13 '45
- DISARMAMENT**  
Mr. Churchill's proposals. Benjamin L. Masse. 74:628-29 Mr 23 '46  
Put the pistol down. Benjamin L. Masse. 74:530-31 F 16 '46  
Substitute for conscription. 74:565 Mr 2 '46
- DIVORCE**  
Social enemy No. 1. Clement S. Mihovich. 74:532-33 F 16 '46  
Underscorings. 74:547 F 23 '46
- DONNELLY, Dorothy**  
Meeting; poem. 74:557 F 23 '46
- DONOHUE, James J.**  
Exile in the stars. Review. 74:558 F 23 '46
- DONOVAN, Charles F.**  
Catholic books for Catholic colleges (reply to by C. V. Higgins). 74:55 O 13 '45  
University—Actuality or Idea? 74:36-38 O 13 '45  
Where's our Raphael? 74:437-39 Ja 19 '46
- DOYLE, Louis F.**  
Caliban and the critics. 74:269-70 D 8 '45  
Mr. Evans and Shakespeare. 74:616 Mr 16 '46
- DRAKE, St. Clair and Horace R. Cayton**  
Black metropolis. Review. 74:160-62 N 10 '45
- DRAMAS**
- Single works**
- Antigone. 74:602 Mr 9 '46  
Apple of his eye. 74:562 F 23 '46  
Assassin, by Irwin Shaw. 74:136 N 3 '45  
Beggars are coming to town, by Theodor Reeves. 74:164 N 10 '45  
Billion dollar baby, by Adolph Green and Betty Comden. 74:388 Ja 5 '46  
Born yesterday, by Garson Kanin. 74:58 F 23 '46  
Brighten the corner, by John Cecil Holm. 74:360 D 29 '45  
Day before spring, by Alan Jay Lerner and Frederick Loewe. 74:276 D 8 '45  
Deep are the roots, by Arnaud d'Usseau and James Gow. 74:52 O 13 '45



**DRAMAS—Single Works (Continued)**

Desert song, by Otto Harbach, Oscar Hammerstein II and Frank Mandel. 74:472 Ja 26 '46  
 Dream girl, by Elmer Rice. 74:360 D 29 '45  
 Dunigan's daughter, by S. N. Behrman. 74:416 Ja 12 '46  
 French touch, by Joseph Fields and Jerome Chodorov. 74:332 D 22 '45  
 Girl from Nantucket, by Paul Stanford and Harold Sherman. 74:221 N 24 '45  
 Hamlet. 74:360 D 29 '45  
 Home of the brave, by Arthur Laurents. 74:416 Ja 12 '46  
 Joy forever, by Blevins Davis and Archie Thompson. 74:472 Ja 26 '45  
 Lute song, by Will Irwin and Sidney Howard. 74:582 Mr 2 '46  
 Magnificent Yankee, by Emmet Lavery. 74:542 F 16 '46  
 Mermaids singing, by John van Druten. 74:332 D 22 '45  
 Nellie Bly, by Joseph Quillan. 74:522 F 9 '46  
 O mistress mine, by Terence Rattigan. 74:522 F 9 '46  
 Polonaise, by Gottfried Reinhardt and Anthony Veiller. 74:80 O 20 '45  
 Red Mill, by Victor Herbert. 74:108 O 27 '45  
 Rich full life, by Vina Delmar. 74:221 N 24 '45  
 Rugged path, by Robert E. Sherwood. 74:221 N 24 '45  
 Ryan girl, by Edmund Goulding. 74:24 O 6 '45  
 Seven mirrors, by students of Immaculate Heart College, Los Angeles. 74:164 N 10 '45  
 Show boat, by Ednar Ferber, Oscar Hammerstein and Jerome Kern. 74:444 Ja 19 '46  
 Sound of hunting, by Harry Brown. 74:276 D 8 '45  
 State of the Union, by Howard Lindsay and Russel Crouse. 74:248 D 1 '45  
 Strange fruit, by Lillian Smith. 74:304 D 15 '45  
 Therese, by Thomas Job. 74:108 O 27 '45  
 Three to make ready, by Nancy Hamilton. 74:642 Mr 23 '46  
 Truckline cafe, by Maxwell Anderson. 74:622 Mr 16 '46  
 Winter's Tale. 74:500 F 2 '46  
 Would-be gentleman. 74:473 Ja 26 '46  
 You touched me, by Tennessee Williams. 74:24 O 6 '45  
 Young American, by Edwin M. Bronner. 74:500 F 2 '46  
**DREISER, Theodore**  
 Right word for books. 74:424 Ja 19 '46  
**DRINAN, Robert F.**  
 "No one ever mentions Him." 74:95-97 O 27 '45  
**DUBOIS, W. E. B.**  
 Encyclopedia for the Negro. Review. 74:356 D 29 '45  
**DUBLIN Letter.** Kathleen O'Brennan. 74:494 F 2 '46; 74:857 Mr 30 '46  
**DUBLIN, N. H. (Conference)**  
 Price of real peace. 74:98 O 27 '45  
**DUCHESMIN, Mother Theresa Maxis.** Joseph B. Code. 74:317-19 D 22 '45  
**DUMAURIER, Daphne**  
 King's General. Review. 74:439 Ja 19 '46  
**DUNN, Dorothy**  
 Dark was the wilderness. Review. 74:471 Ja 26 '46  
**DUNNE, George H.**  
 Racial segregation violates justice. 74:63-65 O 20 '45  
 (Reply to by George K. Hunton). 74:222 N 24 '45; (by John P. Markoe, S.J.). 74:139 N 3 '45; (by George Melling). 74:167 N 10 '45; (by Harold F. Quirk). 74:167 N 10 '45; (by John H. Taylor, S.J.). 74:307 D 15 '45  
**DUNNE, Joseph A.**  
 Mind the Mass. Review. 74:540 F 16 '46  
**DUPEE, F. W., Editor**  
 Question of Henry James. Review. 74:271 D 8 '45  
**DURELS, Adolfo Costa**  
 Bewitched lands. Review. 74:162-83 N 10 '45

**E**

**EBERHARDT, Auleen Bordeaux**  
 Community outdoor Christmas cribs. 74:362-83 D 8 '45  
**EBERHARDT, Richard**  
 War and the poet. Review. 74:329-30 D 22 '45

**EDUCATION**

**International aspects**

Catholic intellectual solidarity. 74:143 N 10 '45

Intellectual cooperation. 74:143 N 10 '45  
 Idea of a Catholic college. Bernard Wuellner, S.J. 74:195 N 17 '45  
 Scholarship and world unity. 74:200 N 24 '45  
 See also "Pax Romana"

**Canada**

Religious education in Canada. 74:623 Mr. 16 '46

**Germany**

German universities. 74:268 D 8 '45  
 Underscorings. 74:527 F 16 '46

**Holland**

Saga of Nijmegen. Willibald M. Ploechl. 74:552-53 F 23 '46

**Japan**

Educators for Japan. 74:587 Mr. 9 '46; 74:435 Ja 19 '46  
 (Reply to by Wm. H. Allen). 74:523 F 9 '46; (by Edward A. Kiley). 74:543 F 16 '46  
 Re-educating Japan. 74:514 F 9 '46  
 Underscorings. 74:425 Ja 19 '46

**United States**

And now Princeton. 74:284 D 15 '45  
 Armed forces vs. colleges. 74:30 O 13 '45  
 Brady plan in a Detroit school. Sister Mary, I.H.M. 74:510-11 F 9 '46  
 Breaking lances for the classics. 74:626 Mr 23 '46  
 Catholic education and the Negro. 74:452 Ja 26 '46  
 Education week. 74:183-84 N 17 '45  
 Father Blakely's educational testament. Allan Farrell. 74:549-52 F 23 '46  
 Federal aid and civil liberties. 74:4 O 6 '45  
 More work for teacher. Daniel Brady. 74:631 Mr 23 '46  
 National school lunch bill. 74:587 Mr 9 '46  
 Parish night schools. Elbert R. Sisson. 74:27 O 6 '45  
 Protecting American liberties. 74:256 D 8 '45  
 Public school system. 74:614 Mr. 16 '46; 74:623 Mr 16 '46  
 Racial segregation violates justice. George H. Dunne. 74:63-65 O 20 '45  
 Religion in education. 74:279 D 8 '45  
 Religious cooperation. 74:594 Mr. 9 '46  
 Revolution in the classroom. Anthony J. Adams. 74:66-8 O 20 '45  
 Right kind of education. 74:480 F 2 '46  
 Secular state. Hubert N. Hart and Benjamin T. Crawford. 74:562 F 23 '46  
 Veterans and the colleges. 74:452 Ja 26 '46  
 Veterans' education. 74:595 Ja 12 '46  
 Whither education? Benjamin T. Crawford. 74:335 D 22 '45

**Catholic**

Catholic college in Basutoland. 74:172 N 17 '45  
 Father Blakely's educational testament. Allan Farrell. 74:549-52 F 23 '46  
 Public school system. 74:623 Mr 16 '46  
 Rural institute under college auspices. 74:586 Mr 9 '46  
 Scholarships and fellowships. 74:587 Mr 9 '46  
 Schools of agriculture. 74:566 Mr 2 '46  
 Underscorings. 74:547 F 23 '46; 74:627 Mr 23 '46

**EDUCATION and state**

Federal aid. 74:211-12 N 24 '45  
 Kentucky school bus law. 74:311 D 22 '45

**EDUCATIONAL, scientific and cultural organization of the United Nations (proposed)**

Cultural cooperation. 74:72 O 20 '46  
 On mentioning God. 74:290 N 24 '45  
 Religion in education. 74:279 D 8 '45

**EIRE looks at UNO.** Robert A. Graham. 74:582-89 Mr 9 '46

**EISELE, Albert**

Exorcism. 74:17-19 O 6 '45

**EMPLOYMENT**

**United States**

Employment bill passed. 74:546 F 23 '46  
 How it feels to be unemployed. Ludwig Grein. 74:460-61 Ja 26 '46  
 Jobs or words? 74:41 O 13 '45  
 President rebuffed. 74:228 D 1 '45  
 USES shift vetoed. 74:367 Ja 5 '46

**EPIPHANY encyclical.** 74:462 Ja 26 '46

**ERSKINE, John**

Human life of Jesus. Review. 74:159-60 N 10 '45

**EUROPE**

**Displaced persons**

See also "Refugees"  
 Death March from Silesia. Refugee (pseud.) 74:176-8 N 17 '45  
 D. P. tangle. 74:634 Mr 23 '46

**Reconstruction**

Christian democrats (non-denominational). 74:309 D 22 '45  
 Culture and Mr. Benton. 74:535 F 16 '46  
 Food for war-stricken campaign. 74:226 D 1 '45  
 GI view of Europe. Melanie Staerk. 74:509-10 F 9 '45  
 Help for Europe. Joseph P. Lepore. 74:563 F 23 '46  
 No enemy children. 74:379 Ja 5 '46  
 Politics in relief? 74:43 O 13 '45  
 Sacrifice for stunted youth. 74:625 Mr 23 '46  
 Washington front. 74:89 O 27 '45  
 We cannot stop now. 74:210-11 N 24 '45  
 See also World war (1939-45)

**EVANS, Maurice**

Mr. Evans and Shakespeare. Louis F. Doyle. 74:616-17 Mr 16 '46

**EXORCISM, The, Albert**

Eisale. 74:17-19 O 6 '45

**F**

**FAHY, Cecelia M.**

Catholicism and the U. S. Naval Academy. 74:264-65 D 8 '45

(Reply to by Naval officer) 74:419 Ja 12 '46; (Rebuttal to reply) 74:503 F 2 '46

**FAIR Employment Practices Committee**

Work of FEPC. Sr. M. Josephine. 74:92-94 O 27 '45

**FAMINE emergency committee**

"Invisible guest." 74:645 Mr 30 '46

**FAR EAST conferences.** 74:478 F 2 '46

**FARRELL, Allan P.**

Father Blakely's educational testament. 74:549-52 F 23 '46

(Reply to by Rev. William E. McManus) 74:623 Mr 16 '46; 74:663 Mr 30 '46

**FARREN, Robert**

Rime, gentlemen, please. Review. 74:187-88 N 17 '45

**FILAS, Francis L., S.J.**

Saint Joseph, patron of the Church. 74:235-36 D 1 '45

**FINLETTER, Thomas J.**

Constitution is at fault. 74:583 Mr 2 '46

**FITZPATRICK, Edward A.**

Universal military training. Review. 74:244-45 D 1 '45

**FLANAGAN, John T.**

America is West: an anthology of Middle-Western life and literature. Review. 74:187 N 17 '45

**FLANNERY, Harry W.**

China's hard road to democracy. 74:263-84 D 8 '45

**FLEECE, Urban H.**

Self-revelation of the adolescent boy. Review. 74:467 Ja 26 '46

**FLOWER, Robin**

The Western Island or the Great Blasket. Review. 74:134-35 N 3 '45

**FOOD supply**

Call for sacrifice. 74:525 F 16 '46  
 Lent and relief. 74:586 Mr 9 '46  
 No enemy children. 74:379 Ja 5 '46  
 Ships for food. 74:526 F 16 '46  
 Who buys the food? 74:567 Ja 5 '46  
 World food outlook. William J. Gibbons. 74:569-71 Mr 2 '46  
 World food policy. 74:114 N 3 '45  
 See also United Nations' food and agricultural organization

**FRANCE**

**Foreign relations**

Powers and Spain. 74:615 Mr 16 '46

**Politics and government**

Behind the French vote. 74:113 N 3 '45  
 De Gaulle crisis. 74:239 D 1 '45  
 De Gaulle resigns. 74:491 F 2 '46  
 De Gaulle's program. 74:113 N 3 '45  
 French elections. 74:2 O 6 '45  
 Nationalization of French banks. 74:282 D 15 '45

**Reconstruction**

Americans and France. André Messenger. 74:592-3 Mr 9 '46

**FRASCA, William R.**

Constitution is at fault. 74:528-30 F 16 '46

**FREE Enterprise.** 74:515 F 9 '46

**FREEDOM of press**

Double standard. 74:212 N 24 '45

Soviet Russia and world opinion. 74:199 N 24 '45

**G**

**GARDINER, Harold C.**

Battle of the critics is shaping up. 74:157-58 N 10 '45

Catholic book week. 74:129-30 N 3 '45

(Reply to by Stephen A. Collins) 74:363 D 29 '45

Children's books in an atomic age. 74:213 N 24 '45

- Follow-up on Waugh. 74:536-37 F 16 '46  
Germany must have relief. 74:148-50 N 10 '45
- 1945 literary scene. 74:297-98 D 15 '45  
Note on grandeur. 74:516-17 F 9 '46  
(Reply to by Will Stubbs) 74:623 Mr 16 '46
- On the children's shelves. 74:214 N 24 '45  
Waugh's awry critics. 74:409-10 Ja 12 '46  
(Reply to by L. M. P.) 74:503 F 2 '46
- GAULLE, Charles de**  
Ser "France"  
Unspeakables. Review. 74:439 Ja 19 '46
- GAY, Laverne**  
Jewish farming in Palestine. 74:428-30 Ja 19 '46
- GENERAL Motors takes its stand.** Benjamin L. Masse. 74:430-32 Ja 19 '46
- GERMANY**  
**Politics and government**  
Elections in Germany. 74:514 F 9 '46  
Elections under occupation. 74:478 F 2 '46  
Leftist victory in Bavaria. Washington Front. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:33 O 13 '45
- Reconstruction**  
AMG and the Church. 74:352 D 29 '45  
Betrayal of peace. 74:447 Ja 19 '46  
Craig. 74:506 Mr 2 '46  
Death march from Silesia. A Refugee. 74:176-78 N 17 '45  
German Catholic resistance. 74:312 D 22 '45  
German Catholics in war and peace. Franz Werdermann. 74:508-9 F 9 '46  
Germany must have relief. Harold C. Gardner. 74:148-50 N 10 '45  
Germany's conscience. 74:59 O 20 '45  
Land reform in eastern Germany. 74:365 Ja 5 '46  
Let charity work. 74:323 D 22 '45  
Men without the rights of man. Ferdinand A. Hermens. 74:287-89 D 15 '45  
Morgenthau's plan analyzed. Friedrich Baerwald. 74:90-92 O 27 '45  
Stop isolating Germany. 74:435 Ja 19 '46  
Underscorings. 74:527 F 16 '46  
World opinion mobilizes. 74:226 D 1 '45
- GI view of Europe.** Melanie Staerk. 74:500-10 F 9 '46
- GIBBINGS, Robert**  
Lovely is the Lee. Review. 74:243-44 D 1 '45
- GIBBONS, William J.**  
Labor program in England. 74:202-3 N 24 '45  
Moral issues in housing. 74:652-53 Mr 30 '46  
Palestine chronicle: I-III. 74:426-27 Ja 19 '46; 74:459-60 Ja 26 '46; 74:486-88 F 2 '46  
Reclamation at Grand Coulee. 74:10-12 O 6 '45  
Why of social security. 74:124-25 N 3 '45  
World food outlook. 74:569-71 Mr 2 '46
- GIBSON, Hugh**  
Ciano diaries: 1939-1943. Review. 74:517 F 9 '46
- GLENN, Vernon J.**  
Deep in the heart of taxes. 74:571-72 Mr 2 '46
- GLENNON, John Cardinal.** 74:625 Mr 23 '46
- GOOCH, G. P.**  
Courts and cabinets. Review. 74:579 Mr 2 '46
- GOVERNMENT**  
Democracy or dictatorship. 74:396 Ja 12 '46  
One-party government. 74:396 Ja 12 '46  
Governmental power. 74:31 O 13 '45  
See also United States
- GRAF, Max**  
Legend of a musical city. Review. 74:561 F 23 '46
- GRAHAM, Robert A.**  
Eire looks at UNO. 74:588-9 Mr 9 '46  
London organizes for peace. 74:398-99 Ja 12 '46  
Report from Belgium. 74:573 Mr 2 '46  
Report from London. 74:433 Ja 19 '46; 74:461 Ja 26 '46; 74:489 F 2 '46; 74:513 F 9 '46; 74:533 F 16 '46; 74:553 F 23 '46  
UNO affirms the freedoms. 74:608-9 Mr 16 '46  
UNO has uphill road. 74:68-9 O 20 '45
- GRAND Coulee Reclamation Development Project**  
Reclamation at Grand Coulee. William J. Gibbons. 74:10 O 6 '45
- GRANGER, Iowa**  
Decade of Homesteading. Patrick T. Quinlan. 74:348-49 D 29 '45
- GRANVILLE-Barker, Harley**  
Use of the drama. Review. 74:163 N 10 '46
- GREAT art and personality.** Thomas L. O'Brien. 74:556-7 F 23 '46
- GREAT BRITAIN**  
Children's books from wartorn England. Mary Kleiy. 74:185-86 N 17 '45  
Scholarly event. 74:396 Ja 12 '46  
Working parties for industry. 74:310 D 22 '45
- Colonies and dominions**  
India. 74:585 Mr 9 '46  
Tumult in the Antilles: Jamaica. Richard Pattee. 74:648-50 Mr 30 '46
- Economic relations**  
Billions for Britain? Richard E. Mulcahy. 74:118-21 N 3 '45  
Help for Britain. 74:605 Mr 16 '46  
Loan to Britain? 74:322 D 22 '45
- Foreign relations**  
Mr. Churchill's proposals. Benjamin L. Masse. 74:628-29 Mr 23 '46  
Moscow agreements. 74:365 Ja 5 '46  
Powers and Spain. 74:615 Mr 16 '46  
Reaction in London to Molotov speech. 74:169 N 17 '45  
Russia and Britain. 74:478 F 2 '46  
Washington front. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:527 F 16 '46  
Where the Russian issue lies. 74:525 F 16 '46
- Politics and government**  
Labor program in England. William J. Gibbons. 74:202-3 N 24 '45  
On public ownership. 74:197 N 24 '45
- GREECE**  
Russia and Britain. 74:478 F 2 '46
- GREEN, Andrew, O.S.B.**  
Retreat for religious. Review. 74:51 O 13 '45
- GREENE, Josiah E.**  
Not in our stars. Review. 74:50 O 13 '45
- GREENE, Walter L.**  
Rose of the hedgerows; poem. 74:270 D 8 '45
- GREIN, Ludwig**  
How it feels to be unemployed. 74:460-61 Ja 26 '46
- GRIFFIN, Alexander R.**  
Out of carnage. Review. 74:189 N 17 '45
- GRINKER, Roy R.**  
Men under stress. Review. 74:189-90 N 17 '45
- GURIAN, Waldemar**  
Whither the Russian revolution? 74:589-91 Mr 9 '46
- H**
- HALL, James Norman and Charles Nordhoff.** High Barbaree. Review. 74:247 D 1 '45
- HARPER, Samuel N.** The Russia I believe in. Review. 74:77-78 O 20 '45
- HARROLD, Charles Frederick.** John Henry Newman: an expository and critical study of his mind, thought and art. Review. 74:328-29 D 22 '45
- HARTNETT, ROBERT C.**  
Constitution is at fault. 74:528 F 16 '46  
Is the constitution at fault? 74:610-11 Mr 16 '46
- HATCHER, Marian**  
Lake Erie. Review. 74:411 Ja 12 '46
- HAUSER, Heinrich**  
German talks back. Review. 74:105-6 O 27 '45
- HAWKS, Edward**  
Cardinal Newman—and America. 74:38-41 O 13 '45
- HEALTH**  
Doctors' health plan. 74:283 D 15 '45  
Rural health. 74:283 D 15 '45
- HERMENS, Ferdinand A.**  
Men without the rights of man. 74:287-89 D 15 '45  
(Reply to by Luigi Sturzo) 74:391 Ja 5 '46
- HERR, Vincent V.**  
How we influence one another. Review. 74:496 F 2 '46
- HERRICK, Arnold**  
This way to unity. Review. 74:356 D 29 '45
- HERZOG, Peter M.**  
Yanks in Tokyo: a front-line view. 74:121-22 N 3 '45
- HESS, M. Whitcomb**  
Recalling Crashaw. 74:381-82 Ja 5 '46
- HILLIER, Laurie**  
Time remembered. Review. 74:413 Ja 12 '46
- HIRSH, Edward L.**  
Litany for America; poem. 74:617 Mr 16 '46
- HOFMANN, Michael**  
Death of Rev. Michael Hofmann, S.J. 74:627 Mr 23 '46
- HONAN, Daniel J.**  
Memorandum for a bedridden nun; poem. 74:557 F 23 '46
- HOOVER, Calvin B.**  
International trade and domestic employment. Review. 74:442 Ja 19 '46
- HOOVER, Herbert**  
"The invisible guest." 74:645 Mr 30 '46
- HOPKINS, Christian humanist.** William T. Noon. 74:73-75 O 20 '45
- HORNE, Lena.** Theophilus Lewis. 74:92 Mr 30 '46
- HOSKINS, Katherine**  
A penitential primer. Review. 74:187-88 N 17 '45
- HOUGH, Donald**  
Big distance. Review. 74:521 F 9 '46
- HOUGHTON, Walter E.**  
Art of Newman's Apologia. Review. 74:560 F 23 '46
- HOUSELANDER, Caryll**  
Flowering tree. Review. 74:187-88 N 17 '45
- HOUSING**  
Action on housing. 74:324 D 22 '45  
America's housing story. John Carson. 74:286-87 D 15 '45; 74:320-21 D 22 '45  
Bankers talk housing. 74:408 Ja 12 '46  
Bill for building. 74:99-100 O 27 '45  
Bulldozer protests. Austin Casey. 74:315 D 22 '45  
Homes for veterans. 74:615 Mr 16 '46  
Houses for America. 74:267-68 D 8 '45  
Houses for veterans. 74:585 Mr 9 '46  
Housing bill. 74:479 F 2 '46  
Housing crisis. 74:526 F 16 '46  
Housing dilemma grows. 74:378 Ja 5 '46  
Housing for the people. 74:15-16 O 6 '45  
Housing industry strike. 74:255 D 8 '45  
Housing report. 74:555 F 23 '46  
Housing shortage. 74:310 D 22 '45  
Limited-dividend housing. 74:543 F 16 '46  
Moral issues in housing. William J. Gibbons. 74:652-53 Mr 30 '46  
Slum areas. 74:58 O 20 '45  
U. S. Housing policy. 74:434 Ja 19 '46  
Washington front. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:229 D 1 '45; 74:547 F 23 '46; 74:627 Mr 23 '46  
Why new homes are needed. 74:424 Ja 19 '46
- HOWARD, Elizabeth Mitger**  
Before the sun goes down. Review. 74:601 Mr 9 '46
- HUGHES, Paul**  
Challenge at Changsha. Review. 74:541 F 16 '46
- HURLEY, Patrick Jay**  
Mr. Hurley's charges. 74:253 D 8 '45  
U. S. expects every man. 74:281 D 15 '45  
Washington front. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:257 D 8 '45
- HUTCHISON, Keith**  
Rival partners: America and Britain in the postwar world. Review. 74:620 Mr 16 '46
- HUXLEY, Aldous**  
Perennial philosophy. Review. 74:299 D 15 '45  
Science, liberty and peace. Review. 74:529 Mr 16 '46
- I**
- IANNELLI, Alfonso**  
Art. Barry Byrne. 74:111 O 28 '45
- ICKES, Harold L.**  
Struggle in the White House. 74:545 F 23 '46
- INDIA**  
Boys Town, Bombay. 74:585 Mr 9 '46  
India. 74:585 Mr 9 '46
- INDIVIDUALISM—What is it?** 74:586 Mr 9 '46
- INDONESIA.** See Netherlands Indies.
- INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS**  
Congress takes a hand. 74:449 Ja 26 '46  
Labor legislation. 74:524 F 16 '46  
Labor's finger in management's pie. Benjamin L. Masse. 74:482-84 F 2 '46  
Law that wasn't there. Benjamin L. Masse. 74:572-73 Mr 2 '46  
Scolding for Congress. 74:141 N 10 '45  
Security and freedom: the American way. Most Rev. Karl J. Alter. 74:548-49 F 23 '46  
Wage-price dilemma. Benjamin L. Masse. 74:62-64 O 20 '45
- INFLATION (Finance)**  
Victory loan 74:156 N 10 '45  
Wall Street and inflation. 74:86 O 27 '45
- INNSBRUCK**  
Underscorings. J.L.F. 74:201 N 24 '45
- INSURANCE companies report.** 74:394 Ja 12 '46
- INTERNATIONAL law for everyone.** Melanie Staerk. 74:404-5 Ja 12 '46
- INTERNATIONAL Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union**  
Stalinist tactic. 74:282 D 15 '45
- INTERNATIONAL Longshoremen's Association**  
Labor's dirty wash. 74:85 O 27 '45  
Story of a strike. Benjamin L. Masse. 74:146-48 N 10 '45; 180-81 N 17 '45
- IRAN**  
Behind the notes. 74:605 Mr 16 '46  
Iranian incident. 74:338 D 29 '45  
Pattern in Iran. 74:226 D 1 '45

## IRELAND

- Book of Kells. Kathleen O'Brennan. 74:657 Mr 30 '46  
 Elre looks at UNO. Robert A. Graham. 74:588-9 Mr 9 '46  
 Ireland's fascist government. Charles Keenan. 74:179-80 N 17 '45  
 Irish history on the screen. Kathleen O'Brennan. 74:241 D 1 '45

## ITALY

- Politics and Government**  
 Italian socialists. 74:422 Ja 19 '46  
 Italy and America. 74:282 D 15 '45

## Reconstruction

- Catholic Action in Italy. 74:59 O 20 '45  
 Italian reconstruction. 74:31 O 13 '45

## J

## JAMAICA

- Tumult in the Antilles. Richard Pattee. 74:648-50 Mr 30 '46

- JAMES, Preston E.**  
 Brazil. Review. 74:641 Mr 23 '46

## JANTA, Alexander

- Bound with two chains. Review. 74:469 Ja 26 '46

## JAPAN

- Surrender in Tokyo Bay. Paul L. O'Connor, S.J. 74:237 D 1 '45  
 Yanks in Tokyo: a front-line view. Peter J. Herzog. 74:121-22 N 3 '45

## Reconstruction

- Abdication of divinity. 74:393 Ja 12 '46  
 Catholic educators for Japan. 74:587 Mr 9 '46  
 Educators for Japan. 74:435 Ja 19 '46  
 Hope for democracy in Japan. H. G. Quaritch Wales. 74:484-86 F 2 '46  
 Land policy in Japan. 74:350 D 29 '45  
 Mission task in Japan. 74:479 F 2 '46  
 Pacific unilateralism. 74:86 O 27 '45  
 Re-educating Japan. 74:514 F 9 '46  
 State Shinto forbidden. 74:339 D 29 '45  
 Underscorings. 74:425 Ja 19 '46

## JAPANESE

## United States

- Nisel Decision. 74:70 O 20 '45  
**JEREMY, Sister Mary**  
 Dancing-Days. 74:656-57 Mr 30 '46  
**JEWS**  
 Murder of a race. 74:32 O 13 '45  
 Palestine. 74:239-40 D 1 '45  
 Soviet anti-Semitism? 74:595 Mr 9 '46  
 See also Palestine

## JOICISTS

- JOC survival 74:88 O 27 '45

## JOHNSON, Guy E.

- Encyclopedia of the Negro. Review. 74:356 D 29 '45

## JOHNSTON, Eric

- Breath of fresh air. 74:393 Ja 12 '46

## JOSELYN, Sister M.

- Wisdom of making. 74:130 N 3 '45

## JOSEPH, Saint, patron of the Church.

- Francis L. Filas, S. J. 74:235-36 D 1 '45

## JOSEPHSON, Hannan

- Aragon: Poet of the French resistance. Review. 74:467 Ja 26 '46

## K

## KANE, Harriett

- Plantation parade: the grandiose manner in Louisiana. Review. 74:383 Ja 5 '46

## KARK, Leslie

- Red rain. Review. 74:637 Mr 23 '46

## KAYE-Smith, Sheila

- Kitchen fugue. Review. 74:20 O 6 '45

## KEARNEY, James F.

- Peace comes to Shanghai. 74:511-13 F 9 '46

## KEENAN, Charles

- Censors and movies. 74:576-77 Mr 2 '46

- In the matter of Yamashita. 74:632-33 Mr 23 '46

- International order in the atomic age. 74:12-13 O 6 '45

- Ireland's fascist government. 74:179-80 N 17 '45

- Tragedy in the Ukraine. 74:377 Ja 5 '46

## KENDRICK, Baynard

- Lights out. Review. 74:301 D 15 '45

## KENNEDY, Joseph P.

- Help for Britain. 74:605 Mr 16 '46

## KERNAN, Gerald

- First Newman Club. 74:291-92 D 15 '45

- First Newman Club (reply to by T. L. Harrington, M.D.) 74:419 Ja 12 '46

## KERWIN, Jerome G.

- Constitution is at fault. 74:528-30 F 16 '46

- (Reply to by H. Bettinger) 74:583 Mr. 2 '46

- (Reply to by Thomas K. Finletter) 74:583 Mr 2 '46

- (Reply to by Robert C. Hartnett) 74:610-11 Mr 16 '46

- (Reply to by Robert M. LaFollette, Jr.) 74:630 Mr 30 '46

- (Reply to by Jerry Voorhis) 74:650 Mr 30 '46

- (Reply to by Gerard F. Yates, S. J.) 74:651-2 Mr 30 '46

## KONEFSKY, Samuel J.

- Chief Justice Stone and the Supreme Court. Review. 74:414 Ja 12 '46

## KOREA

- Test in Korea. 74:395 Ja 12 '46

## L

## LABOR

- Imported labor. 74:98-9 O 27 '45

- Law that wasn't there. Benjamin L. Masse. 74:572-73 Mr 2 '46

- New labor bill. 74:2 O 6 '45

- Protecting the migrants. 74:310 D 22 '45

- Washington front. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:61 O 20 '45

## LABOR and management

- Labor balks. 74:281 D 15 '45

- Labor-management news. 74:57 O 20 '45

- Labor's finger in management's pie. Benjamin L. Masse. 74:464-64 F 2 '46

- Mr. Truman intervenes. 74:281 D 15 '45

- President acts. 74:294 D 15 '45

- Washington front. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:285 D 15 '45

## LABOR-management conference. 74:254 D 8 '45

- Industrial peace. 74:182 N 17 '45

- Washington front. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:173 N 17 '45; 74:201 N 24 '45

- See also "Trade Unions" and "Strikes"

## LABOR Party (Great Britain)

- Labor program in England. William J. Gibbons. 74:202-3 N 24 '45

- On public ownership. 74:197 N 24 '45

## LaFARGE, John

- Carleton Hayes and friendship for Spain. 74:232-35 D 1 '45

- Church and the world. 74:591-2 Mr 9 '46

- Control of atomic energy. 74:174-76 N 17 '45

- Inter-American seminar. 74:454-56 Ja 26 '46

- Spanish problem. 74:629-31 Mr 23 '46

## LaFOLLETTE, Robert M., Jr.

- British constitution for America? 74:650 Mr 30 '46

## LANZA, Conrad H.

- How Australia was saved. 74:346-48 D 29 '45

- LATHROP, Rose Hawthorne. 74:307 D 15 '45

## LAURENT, Laval

- Quebec et l'Elise aux Etats-Unis sous Mgr. Briand et Mgr. Plessis. Review. 74:580 Mr 2 '46

## LEE, CHARLES

- North, East, South, West: regional anthology of American writing. Review. 74:440 Ja 19 '46

## LENT

- Sherry's, Schrafft's and Fanny Farmer. Mary E. McLaughlin. 74:611-12 Mr 16 '46

## LEVENSTEIN, Aaron

- Labor today and tomorrow. Review. 74:495 F 2 '46

## LEWIS, C. Day

- Short is the time. Review. 74:187-88 N 17 '45

## LEWIS, C. S.

- Great divorce. Review. 74:618 Mr 16 '46

## LEWIS, John L.

- Mr. Lewis goes home. 74:505 F 9 '46

## LEWIS, Sinclair

- Cass Timberlane. Review. 74:19-20 O 6 '45

## LEWIS, Theophilus. (See DRAMAS, Single works)

## LEWISOHN, Sam A.

- Human leadership in industry. Review. 74:247 D 1 '45

## LITERATURE

- Battle of the critics is shaping up. Harold C. Gardiner. 74:157-58 N 10 '45

- Books and doors. Francis Sweeney. 74:493-4 F 2 '46

- Caliban and the critics. Louis F. Doyle. 74:269-70 D 1 '45

- Critics and critics. Sister Rose Marie. 74:465-66 Ja 26 '46

- Dublin Letter. Kathleen O'Brennan. 74:494 F 2 '46; 74:657 Mr 30 '46

- 1945 literary scene. Harold C. Gardiner. 74:297-98 D 15 '45

- Note on grandeur. Harold C. Gardiner. 74:516-17 F 9 '46

- Quebec letter. Patrick Mary Plunkett. 74:382 Ja 5 '46

## LITHUANIA

- Lithuania can only dream. Peter P. Cinikas. 74:531-32 F 16 '46

## LITTLE, Arthur J.

- Christ unconquered. Review. 74:516-17 F 9 '46

## LITURGY and ritual

- It is God we are praising. Joseph T. Nolan. 74:151-53 N 10 '45

## LOMBROSO, Sylvia

- No time for silence. Review. 74:359 D 29 '45

## LONDON organizers for peace. Robert A. Graham. 74:398-99 Ja 12 '46

## LYND, Helen Merrell

- Field work in college education. Review. 74:559 F 23 '46

## M

## MacARTHUR, General Douglas

- Yanks in Tokyo: a front-line view. Peter J. Herzog. 74:121-22 N 3 '45

## McCORMICK, Mary J.

- When children work. 74:260-62 D 8 '45

## MacDONALD, Betty

- Egg and I. Review. 74:441 Ja 19 '46

## McDOUGALL, Alan C.

- Spiritual doctrine of Father Louis Lalle- mant, S.J., preceded by an account of his life by Father Champion, S.J. Review. 74:600 Mr 9 '46

## MacGILLIVRAY, Arthur

- John Bosco: poem. 74:382 Ja 5 '46

## MACKENZIE, Compton

- North wind of love. Review. 74:441 Ja 19 '46

## MacKINNEY, L. C.

- State university surveys the humanities. Review. 74:519 F 9 '46

## McLAUGHLIN, Mary E.

- Sherry's, Schrafft's and Fanny Farmer. 74:611-12 Mr 16 '46

- (Reply to by John A. Matthews) 74:663 Mr 30 '46

## McMAHON, Francis E.

- Catholic looks at the world. Review. 74:658 Mr 30 '46

## McMAHON, T. J.

- Historical records and studies. Vol. XXXIV. Review. 74:246-47 D 1 '45

## MAGNER, James A.

- Sinarchism—Mexican threat or promise? 74:204-6 N 24 '45

## MANCHURIA

- Behind the notes. 74:605 Mr 16 '46

## MARIE Josephine, Sister

- Work of the FEPC. 74:92-94 O 27 '45

## MARY, Sister, I.H.M.

- Brady plan in a Detroit school. 74:510-11 F 9 '46

## MARY Anthony, Sister

- Negro Catholic writers: 1900-1943. Review. 74:356 D 29 '45

## MARY, Blessed Virgin

- Assumption of Our Lady. Robert J. Sherry. 74:83 O 20 '45

## IMMACULATE. 74:267 D 8 '45

## MASSE, Benjamin L.

- General Motors takes its stand. 74:430-32 Ja 19 '46

- Labor's finger in management's pie. 74:482-84 F 2 '46

- (Reply to by Howard M. Woods) 74:663 Mr 30 '46

- Law that wasn't there. 74:572-73 Mr 2 '46

- Mr. Churchill's proposals. 74:628-29 Mr 23 '46

- Put that pistol down. 74:530-31 F 16 '46

- Story of a strike. 74:146-48 N 10 '45; 74:180-81 N 17 '45

- (Reply to by Capt. Hewlett R. Bishop) 74:251 D 1 '45

- Wage-price dilemma. 74:62-64 O 20 '45

- (Reply to by C. R. Johnson) 74:167 N 10 '45

- What about 1946? 74:372-73 Ja 5 '46

## MATTHEWS, John Joseph

- Talking to the moon. Review. 74:22-23 O 6 '45

## MERRIAM, Charles E.

- Systematic politics. Review. 74:330 D 22 '45

## MESSAGER, André (pseud)

- Americans and France. 74:592-3 Mr 9 '46

## MEXICO

- Mexican strife. 74:506 F 9 '46

- Murder in Mexico. 74:463 Ja 26 '46

- Sinarchism—Mexican threat or promise? James A. Magner. 74:204-6 N 24 '45

## MIGRANT Labor

- Protecting the migrants. 74:310 D 22 '45

## MIHANOVICH, Clement S.

- Divorce: social enemy no. 1. 74:532-33 F 16 '46

## MILITARY TRAINING

- Alternate to conscription. 74:623 Mr 16 '46

- Bishops on conscription. 74:197 N 24 '45

- Conscription and morals. 74:227 D 1 '45

- "Curbs on conscription." 74:585 Mr 9 '46

- Four months' training? 74:296 D 15 '45

- General Marshall's report. 74:58 O 20 '45

- Legion proposals. 74:535 F 16 '46

- Mother looks at peacetime conscription. Ethel T. Crosby. 74:289-91 D 15 '45

- President's message. 74:126 N 3 '45

- Real national defense. 74:171 N 17 '45

- Substitute for conscription. 74:565 Mr 2 '46

- Underscorings. A.P.F. 74:369 Ja 5 '46

- Universal military training. 74:505 F 9 '46

- Washington front. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:117 N 3 '45

- What do the people say? 74:451 Ja 26 '46

## MILLAR, Moorhouse, F. X.

- Constitution is at fault. 74:528-30 F 16 '46

## MILLER, Walter J.

- Science notes. 74:293 D 15 '45; 74:488 F 2 '46



## MISSIONS

Making the missions known. 74:4 O 6 '45  
Mission propaganda in schools. 74:4 O 6 '45

## MOLOTOFF, V. I.

Molotov Cocktail. 74:169 N 17 '45

## MONAGHAN, John P.

Parish night schools (reply to by Elbert R. Sisson) 74:27 O 6 '45

## MOODY, John

John Henry Newman. Review. 74:48-49 O 13 '45

## MOON, Bucklin

Primer for white folks. 74:356 D 29 '45

## MOORE, Harriet L.

Soviet Far Eastern policy, 1931-1945. Review. 74:383 Ja 5 '46

## MOORE, Philip S.

New age in American science. 74:94-95 O 27 '45

## MORGAN, Sir Frederick E.

Morgan and the press. 74:434 Ja 19 '46

## MORGENTHAU, Henry

Morgenthau's plan analyzed. Friedrich Baerwald. 74:90-92 O 27 '45

MORRELL, Mrs. Edward V. 74:171 N 17 '45

## MORSE, Wayne

Morse vs. Taft. 74:436 Ja 19 '46  
Washington front. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:425 Ja 19 '46

## MOSCOW conference, 1945

Moscow agreements. 74:365 Ja 5 '46

Will to live. 74:406 Ja 12 '46

## MOVING pictures

Censors and movies. Charles Keenan. 74:576-77 Mr 2 '46

Don't tell. 74:284 D 15 '45

Farewell, Hollywood. 74:586 Mr 9 '46

Irish history on the screen. Kathleen O'Brennan. 74:241 D 1 '45

## MOVING picture plays

## Single works

Abbott and Costello in Hollywood. 74:25 O 6 '45

Adventure. 74:473 Ja 26 '46

Appointment in Tokyo. 74:333 D 22 '45

Bad Bascomb. 74:522 F 9 '46

Because of him. 74:473 Ja 26 '46

Bells of St. Mary's. 74:249 D 1 '45; 74:388 Ja 5 '46

Blue Dahlia. 74:502 F 23 '46

Breakfast in Hollywood. 74:445 Ja 19 '46

Burma victory. 74:582 Mr 2 '46

Cindarella Jones. 74:602 Mr 9 '46

Colonel Effingham's raid. 74:81 O 20 '45

Confidential agent. 74:193 N 17 '45

Cornered. 74:277 D 8 '45

Dakota. 74:249 D 1 '45

Diary of a chambermaid. 74:389 Ja 5 '46

Doll face. 74:445 Ja 19 '46

Dolly sisters. 74:81 O 20 '45

Don't fence me in. 74:165 N 10 '45

Dragonwyck. 74:602 Mr 9 '46

Enchanted forest. 74:137 N 3 '45

Fallen angel. 74:193 N 17 '45

Follow that woman. 74:81 O 20 '45

Game of death. 74:109 O 27 '45

Girl of the Limberlost. 74:53 O 13 '45

Harvey girls. 74:333 D 22 '45

Hoodlum saint. 74:622 Mr 16 '46

House on 92nd street. 74:25 O 6 '45

I love a bandleader. 74:53 O 13 '45

I ring doorbells. 74:445 Ja 19 '46

It happened at the inn. 74:389 Ja 5 '46

Johnny comes flying home. 74:662 Mr 30 '46

Johnny in the Clouds. 74:277 D 8 '45

Just before dawn. 74:662 Mr 30 '46

Kiss and tell. 74:81 O 20 '45

Kitty. 74:165 N 10 '45

Leave her to heaven. 74:417 Ja 12 '46

Letter for Evie. 74:445 Ja 19 '46

Little giant. 74:642 Mr 23 '46

Love, honor and goodbye. 74:81 O 20 '45

Masquerade in Mexico. 74:305 D 15 '45

Meet me on Broadway. 74:501 F 2 '46

Mildred Pierce. 74:25 O 6 '45

Miss Susie Slagle's. 74:361 D 29 '45

My name is Julia Ross. 74:249 D 1 '45

My reputation. 74:473 Ja 26 '46

One way to love. 74:389 Ja 5 '46

Pardon my past. 74:165 N 10 '45

Pursuit to Algiers. 74:193 N 17 '45

Road to utopia. 74:261 D 29 '45

Sailor takes a wife. 74:582 Mr 2 '46

San Antonio. 74:305 D 15 '45

Saratoga trunk. 74:305 D 15 '45

Scarlet street. 74:522 F 9 '46

Sentimental journey. 74:562 F 23 '46

Seventh veil. 74:417 Ja 12 '46

Shady lady. 74:53 O 13 '45

She wouldn't say yes. 74:333 D 22 '45

Shock. 74:542 F 16 '46

Spanish Main. 74:109 O 27 '45

Spellbound. 74:221 N 24 '45

Spiral staircase. 74:501 F 2 '46

Stork club. 74:137 N 3 '45

Strange Mr. Gregory. 74:389 Ja 5 '46

Sunbonnet Sue. 74:109 O 27 '45

Tars and spars. 74:522 F 9 '46

Terror by night. 74:542 F 16 '46

That night with you. 74:109 O 27 '45

They were expendable. 74:221 N 24 '45

This love of ours. 74:193 N 17 '45

Tomorrow is forever. 74:622 Mr 16 '46

Three strangers. 74:642 Mr 23 '46

True glory. 74:53 O 13 '45

Two sisters from Boston. 74:662 Mr 30 '46

Up goes Mainie. 74:501 F 2 '46

Vacation from marriage. 74:361 D 29 '45

Virginian. 74:542 F 16 '46

Walk in the sun. 74:305 D 15 '45

Well Groomed bride. 74:582 Mr 2 '46

What next, Corporal Hargrove? 74:277 D 8 '45

Whistle stop. 74:417 Ja 12 '46

Yolanda and the thief. 74:137 N 3 '45

Young widow. 74:642 Mr 23 '46

MULCAHY, Richard E.

Billions for Britain? 74:118-21 N 3 '45

Can we do business with Stalin? 74:258-60 D 8 '45

Russian loan enigma. 74:230-31 D 1 '45

MURRAY, John Courtney

Papal allocation: Christmas, 1945. 74:370-71 Ja 5 '46

Real woman today. 74:122-24 N 3 '45

## N

NATIONAL Catholic rural life conference

Reform at the grass roots. 74:144 N 10 '45

Rural apostolate to the fore. 74:626 Mr 23 '46

NATIONAL Catholic welfare conference

Havana seminar. 74:368 Ja 5 '46

Stop isolating Germany. 74:435 Ja 19 '46

NATIONAL labor relations board

No more strike votes. 74:394 Ja 12 '46

NEAR East

Soviet shadows in the Near East. Thomas O'Shaughnessy. 74:458-58 Ja 26 '46

NEGROES in the United States

Catholic education and the Negro. 74:452 Ja 26 '46

Discrimination. 74:87 O 27 '45

FEPC filibuster. 74:490 F 2 '46

First for California. 74:144 N 10 '45

Great Negroes in films. M. Sells. 74:475 Ja 26 '46

Interracial justice week. 74:565 Mr 2 '46

Is it brave to be human? Josephine V. Child. 74:523 F 9 '46

Negro achievement exhibit. 74:546 F 23 '46

Negro education. 74:88 O 27 '45

Negroes in business. 74:423 Ja 19 '46

Negroes in the American theatre. Theophilus Lewis. 74:662 Mr 30 '46

Racial segregation violates justice. George H. Dunne. 74:63-65 O 20 '45

Underscorings. 74:481 F 2 '46; 74:607 Mr 16 '46

NETHERLANDS Indies

Blind fury in Java. 74:226 D 1 '45

Far East conference. 74:478 F 2 '46

Indonesian proposal. 74:545 F 23 '46

Merdekai (Liberty). 74:154-55 N 10 '45

Russia and Britain. 74:478 F 2 '46

NEWMAN, John Henry Cardinal

Cardinal Newman—and America. Monsignor Edward Hawks. 74:38-41 O 13 '45

Genius of Newman. Martin D'Arcy, S. J. 74:34-36 O 13 '45

Newman in retrospect. Margaret Devereux Conway. 74:6-8 O 6 '45

Newman today. 74:42 O 13 '45

"Tone of the Centre." Joseph J. Reilly. 74:45-7 O 13 '45

University—Actual or idea? Charles F. Donovan, S. J. 74:36-38 O 13 '45

Value of mixed heritages. Elizabeth G. Lamb. 74:222 N 24 '45

NEWMAN Clubs

291-92 D 15 '45

First Newman Club. Gerald Kernan. 74:291-92 D 15 '45

NIGGLI, Josephina

Mexican village. Review. 74:135 N 3 '45

NIMS, John Frederick

Atlantic; poem. 74:577 Mr 2 '46

NOLAN, Joseph T.

It is God we are praising. 74:151-53 N 10 '45

NOON, William T.

Hopkins, Christian humanist. 74:73-75 O 20 '45

NORDHOFF, Charles and James Norman

Hall

High Barrabee. Review. 74:247 D 1 '45

## O

O'BRENNAN, Kathleen

Dublin letter. 74:494 F 2 '46; 74: 657 Mr 30 '46

Irish history on the screen. 74:241 D 1 '45

O'BRIEN, Robert David

Green harvest; poem. 74:270 D 8 '45

O'BRIEN, Thomas L.

Great art and personality. 74:556-7 F 23 '46

Marks of Catholic art. 74:353-54 D 29 '45

Our Lady's Christmas callers; poem. 74:327 D 22 '45

O'CONNOR, John J.

War and morals. 74:206-8 N 24 '45

O'CONNOR, Michael J.

Catholic art. 74:563 F 23 '46

O'CONNOR, Paul L. S. J.

Surrender in Tokyo Bay. 74:237 D 1 '45

ODIC, Charles

"Stepchildren" of France. Review. 74:134 N 3 '45

O'GRADY, P. W.

Dark was the wilderness. Review. 74:471 Ja 26 '46

O'SHAUGHNESSY, Thomas

Soviet shadows in the Near East. 74:456-58 Ja 26 '46

OXNAM, G. Bromley, Ep.

Birth-control issue. 74:506 F 9 '46

Protestant line. 74:144 N 10 '45

## P

## PALESTINE

Anglo-American commission on Palestine. 74:366 Ja 5 '46

Jewish farming in Palestine. Eugene S. Geissler. 74:428-30 Ja 19 '46

Palestine. 74:116 N 3 '45; 74:239-40 D 1 '45

Palestine chronicle. William J. Gibbons. 74:426-27 Ja 19 '46; 74:459-60 Ja 26 '46;

74:486-88 F 2 '46

Palestine question. 74:32 O 13 '45

Religious issue. 74:255 D 8 '45

See also Jews

PARMELEE, B. C.

Catholics in community life (letter). 74:603 Mr 9 '46

PATTEE, Richard

Puerto Rico and the language question. 74:343-45 D 29 '45

Tumult in the Antilles: Jamaica. 74:648-50 Mr 30 '46

PAX Romana

Catholic intellectual solidarity. 74:143 N 10 '45

Pax Romana rediviva. 74:172 N 17 '45

PAYNE, Robert

Forever China. Review. 74:271-72 D 8 '45

## PEACE

November 11. 74:155 N 10 '45

Peace and power. 74:127 N 3 '45

Power and peace. 74:154 N 10 '45

Put that pistol down. Benjamin L. Masse. 74:530-31 F 16 '46

Timely sermon. 74:59 O 20 '45

PEATTIE, Donald Culross

Immortal village. Review. 74:133-34 N 3 '45

PEGLER, Westbrook

Job for Pegler. 74:115 N 3 '45

PEPPER, Claude

"Anti-Soviet bloc." 74:16 O 6 '45

POEMS (Continued)

Medieval belfry. Joachim Smet. 74:47 O 13 '45  
Meeting. Dorothy Donnelly. 74:557 F 23 '46  
Memoranda for a bedridden nun. Daniel J. Honan. 74:557 F 23 '46  
October. Ethel Barnett de Vito. 74:47 O 13 '45  
O'Brien's Christmas callers. Thomas L. O'Brien. 74:327 D 22 '45  
Rose of the hedgerows. Lieut. Walter L. Greene. 74:270 D 8 '45  
Song for a midnight. Kevin Sullivan. 74:410 Ja 12 '46  
Sonnet: Atlantic. John Frederick Nims. 74:577 Mr 2 '46  
Thing remembered. A. M. Sullivan. 74:158-59 N 10 '45  
To Our Lady of Czenstochowa. Margaret Devereux Conway. 74:242 D 1 '45  
Trumpet for Yuletide. Louis J. Sanker. 74:327 D 22 '45  
Volunteer. Patrick Mary Plunkett. 74:327 D 22 '45

POLAND

Polish concordat. 74:30-31 O 13 '45  
Religious freedom in pre-war Poland. 74:142 N 10 '45  
Religious liberty in Poland. 74:115 N 3 '45

POLITICAL parties

Christian parties. 74:184 N 17 '45  
United States  
An old issue. 74:29 O 13 '45  
Politics and principles. 74:58 O 20 '45  
Washington front. Wilfred Parsons. 74:567 Mr 2 '46

POLITICS, corruption in

Prisoners and graft. 74:368 Ja 5 '46

POLITICS and religion

Religion and politics. 74:607 Mr 16 '46

PORTUGAL

Portuguese liberty. 74:60 O 20 '45

POSTMEN

Ring again, postman. 74:567 Mr 2 '46

POWELL, John E.

My twenty-five years in China. Review. 74:459 Ja 19 '46

POWERS, Jessica

And in her morning; poem. 74:298 D 15 '45

PRICE, Willard

Japan and the Son of Heaven. Review. 74:190-91 N 17 '45

PRICES

United States  
Attack on price controls. 74:646 Mr 30 '46  
Business ethics. 74:266 D 8 '45  
Mr. Bowles and the farmers. 74:606 Mr 16 '46  
New wage-price policy. 74:594 Mr 9 '46  
Pressure on farm prices. 74:635 Mr 23 '46  
Profits and minimum wages. 74:170 N 17 '45  
Renew price controls. 74:463 Ja 26 '46  
Struggle in the White House. 74:545 F 23 '46  
Wage-price dilemma. Benjamin L. Masse. 74:62 O 20 '45  
Wage-price formula. 74:575 Mr 2 '46  
Washington front. Wilfred Parsons. 74:507 F 9 '46; 74:525 F 16 '46; 74:627 Mr 23 '46

PRISONERS of war

Collective guilt. 74:126-27 N 3 '45

PROFIT sharing

Breath of fresh air. 74:393 Ja 12 '46  
Modest proposal. 74:394 Ja 12 '46  
Ryan-Callahan plan. 74:422 Ja 19 '46  
Share the profits. 74:526 F 16 '46  
Toward partnership. 74:422 Ja 19 '46

PROTESTANTISM

World Protestantism. 74:595 Mr 9 '46

PRUDHOMME, Dave

Christmas on the rock. 74:316 D 22 '45

PUCKETT, Pearl L.

Sign by the side of the road. 74:612-13 Mr 16 '46

PUERTO Rico and the language question.

Richard Pattee. 74:343-45 D 29 '45

Q

QUINLAN, Patrick T.

Decade of homesteading. 74:348-49 D 29 '45

R

RACE prejudice (See also "Negroes in the United States" and "Japanese-United States")

Brave men of Hollywood. 74:423 Ja 19 '46  
Immorality of segregation. George K. Hunton. 74:222 N 24 '45  
Interracial teaching needed. Matthew McKavitt. 74:195 N 17 '45  
Soviet anti-Semitism? 74:595 Mr 9 '46

RACKETEERING

Job for Pegler. 74:115 N 3 '45

RAILROADS

Railroad safety. 74:240 D 1 '45  
(Reply to by Frank Arrico). 74:363 D 29 '45  
Railroads again. 74:338 D 29 '45

REESE, Byron Herbert

Ballad of the bones and other poems. Review. 74:187-88 N 17 '45

REFUGEES

Betrayal of peace. 74:447 Ja 19 '46  
Death march from Silesia. A Refugee. 74:176-78 N 17 '45  
Men without the rights of man. Ferdinand A. Hermans. 74:287-89 D 15 '45  
Refugees and immigration. 74:366 Ja 5 '46  
No Yank SS men. 74:70-71 O 20 '45  
Sudeten expulsions. Otto A. Piper. 74:388 D 29 '45

REIDY, Maurice

Christmas Eve; poem. 74:327 D 22 '45

REILLY, JOSEPH J.

"Tone of the centre." 74:45-47 O 13 '45

RELIGION

Bigotry. 74:71 O 20 '45

RELIGION and education

Education week. 74:183-84 N 17 '45

RELIGION and politics

Christian parties. 74:184 N 17 '45

RELIGIOUS cooperation

Council of Trent. 74:294 D 15 '45

Religious cooperation. 74:594 Mr 9 '46

RELIGIOUS education

Brady plan in a Detroit school. Sister Mary, I.H.M. 74:510-11 F 9 '46

Credits for religion. 74:198 N 24 '45

Underscorings. 74:507 F 9 '46

RELIGIOUS liberty

Religious freedom in pre-war Poland. 74:142 N 10 '45

Religious liberty in Poland. 74:115 N 3 '45

What of the past? 74:116 N 3 '45

Yugoslav pastoral. 74:182-83 N 17 '45

RELIGIOUS statistics

Religious statistics. 1945. 74:31 O 13 '45

REMARQUE, Erich Maria

Arch of triumph. Review. 74:466 Ja 26 '46

REPATRIATION

See also "Refugees."

D. P. tangle. 74:634 Mr 23 '46

RIACH, Joseph M.

From one convert to another. Review. 74:470 Ja 26 '46

RODALE, J. I.

Pay dirt: farming and gardening with composts. Review. 74:75-8 O 20 '45

RODMAN, Selden

War and the poet. Review. 74:329-30 D 22 '45

ROLLINS, Frances E.

Wilderness Christmas. 74:325 D 22 '45

ROSARY

Family rosary. 74:15 O 6 '45

Rose de Lima, Sister. 74:340 D 29 '45

ROSE MARIE, Sister

Critics and critics. 74:465-66 Ja 26 '46

ROSPIGLIOSI, Elena

Consistories: past and present. 74:568-69 Mr 2 '46

ROWSE, A. L.

Spirit of English history. Review. 74:303 D 15 '45

RURAL electrification administration

Power on the land. 74:311 D 22 '45

RUSSELL, H. K.

State university surveys the humanities. Review. 74:519 F 9 '46

RUSSIA

Foreign policy

Byrnes and Vandenberg. 74:614 Mr 16 '46

Notes to do. 74:605 Mr 16 '46

Mr. Churchill's proposals. Benjamin L. Masse. 74:628-29 Mr 23 '46

Soviet anti-Semitism. 74:595 Mr 9 '46

Soviet shadows in the Arab East. Thomas O'Shaughnessy. 74:456-58 Ja 26 '46

Washington front. Wilfred Parsons. 74:587 Mr 9 '46

Whither the Russian Revolution? Walde-mar Gurian. 74:589-91 Mr 9 '46

Foreign Relations

Balkan mess. 74:450 Ja 26 '46

Can we do business with Stalin? Richard E. Mulcahy. 74:258-59 D 8 '45

Children wonder. 74:565 Mr 2 '46

Molotov cocktail. 74:169 N 17 '45

Moral Munich? 74:14 O 6 '45

Moscow agreements. 74:365 Ja 5 '46

Occupied Czechoslovakia. 74:505 F 9 '46

"Reaction." 74:505 F 9 '46

Russia and Britain. 74:478 F 2 '46

Some Baltic questions. 74:450 Ja 25 '46

Soviet double-talk. 74:565 Mr 2 '46

Stalin's campaign speech. 74:554 F 23 '46

Washington front. Wilfred Parsons. 74:527 F 16 '46

Where the Russian issue lies. 74:525 F 16 '46

Freedom of press

Soviet Russia and world opinion. 74:199 N 24 '45

Politics and government

"Semantic corruption." 74:71-72 O 20 '45

Reconstruction

Books for Russia. 74:99 O 27 '45

Russian loan enigma. Richard E. Mulcahy. 74:230-31 D 1 '45

Religion

Ruthenian "apostasy." 74:655 Mr 30 '46

Ruthenian Catholics. 74:491 F 2 '46

Social conditions

Behind the iron curtain. 74:646 Mr 30 '46

CIO report on Russia. 74:645 Mr 30 '46

RUTHENIAN "apostasy." 74:655 Mr 30 '46

RUTHENIAN Catholics. 74:491 F 2 '46

RYAN, Clarence J.

Constitution is at fault. 74:528-30 F 16 '46

RYAN, John A.

Monsignor Ryan award. 74:200 N 24 '45

S

SALOMONE, A. William

Italian democracy in the making: the political scene in the Giolittian era, 1900-1914. Review. 74:600 Mr 9 '46

SAMPSON, Frank H.

Road blocks to Christian unity. 74:400-2 Ja 12 '46

SANKER, Louis J.

Trumpet for Yuletide; poem. 74:327 D 22 '45

SCHENLEY Distillers Corporation

Enemies of capitalism. 74:128 N 3 '45

SCHIMBERG, Albert P.

Great friend: Frederick Ozanam. Review. 74:599 Mr 9 '46

SCHULTZ, Theodore W.

Agriculture in an unstable economy. Review. 74:495 F 2 '46

SCHWARTZ, Harry

Seasonal farm labor in the United States. Review. 74:357 D 29 '45

SCIENCE

National research. 74:100 O 27 '45

New age in American science. Philip S. Moore. 74:94-95 O 27 '45

Schmidt telescope. Walter J. Miller, S.J. 74:488 F 2 '46

Science notes. Walter J. Miller, S. J. 74:293 D 15 '45

SCIENTIFIC research

Golden jubilee of X-rays. V. C. Stech-schulte. 74:150-51 N 10 '45

Magnuson bill. 74:255 D 8 '45

National research. 74:100 O 27 '45

New age in American science. Philip S. Moore. 74:94-95 O 27 '45

SCRIVENER, Jane

Inside Rome with the Germans. Review. 74:131 N 3 '45

SECURITY and Freedom: the American way.

Most Rev. Karl J. Alter. 74:548-9 F 23 '46

SERVICE, Robert

Ploughman of the moon. Review. 74:302 D 15 '45

SERVICE men

GI view of Europe. Melanie Staerk. 74:409-10 F 9 '46

Share your reading wealth. 74:543 F 16 '46

SERVICE men, discharged

Education in the GI bill. 74:85 O 27 '45

Rebuff for super seniority. 74:606 Mr 16 '46

Veterans and the colleges. 74:452 Ja 26 '46

Veterans' education. 74:395 Ja 12 '46

SHANNON, Fred A.

The farmer's last frontier: agriculture, 1860-1897. Review. 74:75-76 O 20 '45

SHARKEY, Don

After Bernadette. Review. 74:22 O 6 '45

SHAW, G. Howland

Let's do less for youth (reply to by Mary Hamilton). 74:111 O 27 '45; (by Joseph F. X. Harrison, S. J.) 74:83 O 20 '45; (by Judge John A. Matthews) 74:55 O 13 '45

SHERIDAN, Mary (See Moving picture plays—Single works)

SHERRY'S, Schrant's and Fanny Farmer. Mary E. McLaughlin. 74:611-12. Mr. 16 '46

SCHNEOUR, Zalman

Song of the Dnieper. Review. 74:159 N 10 '45

SHUTE, Nevil

Most secret. Review. 74:188-89 N 17 '45

SIGN by the side of the road. Pearl P. Puckett. 74:612-13 Mr 16 '46

SIMONOV, Constantine

Days and nights. Review. 74:273 D 8 '45

SINARCHISM—Mexican threat or promise? James A. Magner. 74:204-6 N 24 '45

SINCLAIR, Jo

Waste land. Review. 74:637 Mr 23 '46

SISTERS, servants of the immaculate Heart of Mary

Mother Theresa Maxis Duchemin. Joseph B. Code. 74:317-19 D 22 '45

SLOVAKIA

"Liberated" Slovakia. 74:227 D 1 '45

Slovakia suffers. 74:492 F 2 '46

SMET, Joachim

Medieval belfry; poem. 74:47 O 13 '45

SMITH, Alfred E.

Al Smith memorial. 74:44 O 13 '45

**SOCIAL and economic security**

Family allowances. 74:115 N 3 '45  
Health insurance. 74:227 D 1 '45  
Old-age pensions. 74:422 Ja 19 '46  
(Reply to by Rev. M. Haas) 74:543 F 16 '46  
Old-age security. 74:86 O 27 '45  
Relief for the aged. 74:546 F 23 '46  
Security and freedom: the American way.  
Most Rev. Karl J. Alter. 74:548-49 F 23 '45  
Social security in Britain. 74:546 F 23 '46  
Why of social security. William J. Gibbons. 74:124-25 N 3 '45  
**SOCIETY of sentinels**  
Old-age security. 74:422 Ja 19 '46  
**SOVIET anti-Semitism.** 74:595 Mr 9 '46  
**SPAETH, Sigmund**  
At home with music. Review. 74:415 Ja 12 '46

**SPAIN**

Policy on Spain. W. Eugene Shiels, S.J. 74:139 N 3 '45  
Red rally at Madison Square. 74:14-15 O 6 '45  
Relations with Spain. Edgar R. Smothers, S.J. 74:419 Ja 12 '46

**Politics and government**

Carlton Hayes and friendship for Spain. John LaFarge. 74:232-35 D 1 '45  
Evolution in Spain. 74:479 F 2 '46  
Freedom in Spain. 74:566 Mr 2 '46  
(Reply to by Rt. Rev. William Barry) 74:643 Mr 23 '46; (by B. Ibanez, C.M.F.) 74:643 Mr 23 '46  
Intervention in Spain. 74:338 D 29 '45  
Policy toward Spain. 74:3 O 6 '45  
Powers and Spain. 74:615 Mr 16 '46  
Question of prudence. 74:3 O 6 '45  
Ripalda catechism. 74:605 Mr 16 '46  
Social question in Spain. 74:451 Ja 26 '46  
Spanish government-in-exile. José Antonio de Aguirre. 74:139 N 3 '45  
Spanish problem. John LaFarge. 74:629-31 Mr 23 '46

**SPENCER, Louise Reid**

Guerrilla wife. Review. 74:50-51 O 13 '45

**SPIEGEL, John P.**

Men under stress. Review. 74:189-90 N 17 '45

**STAERK, Melanie**

GI view of Europe. 74:509-10 F 9 '46  
International law for everyman. 74:404-5 Ja 12 '46

**STEBBINS, Lucy Poate and Richard Poate**

The Trollopes: the chronicle of a writing family. Review. 74:300 D 15 '45

**STECHSCHULTE, V. C.**

Golden jubilee of X-rays. 74:150-51 N 10 '45

**STEPHANIE, Sister Mary**

Especto resurrectionem; poem. 74:537 F 16 '46

**STERILIZATION**

California's disgrace. Joseph A. Vaughan. 74:8-9 O 6 '45  
Sterilization in California. Mollie E. Brown. 74:83 O 20 '45

**STREET, James**

Gauntlet. Review. 74:274 D 8 '45

**STRIKES**

Auto strike. 74:238 D 1 '45  
Behind the GM strike. 74:350 D 29 '45  
Deadlock persists. 74:505 F 9 '46  
Enemies of labor. 74:626 Mr 23 '46  
Executives and wartime strikes. 74:60 O 20 '45  
GM on the spot. 74:198 N 24 '45  
GM on strike. 74:254 D 8 '45  
GM takes a walk. 74:407 Ja 12 '46  
General Motors takes its stand. Benjamin L. Masse. 74:430-32 Ja 19 '46  
Labor balks. 74:281 D 15 '45  
Manhattan strike-bound. 74:1 O 6 '45  
Mr. Truman intervenes. 74:281 D 15 '45  
No more strike votes. 74:394 Ja 12 '46  
Peaceful picketing. 74:479 F 2 '46  
Pickets still march. 74:449 Ja 26 '46  
President acts. 74:294 D 15 '45  
President rebuffed. 74:477 F 2 '46  
Showdown on strikes. 74:337 D 29 '45  
Stalinist tactic. 74:282 D 15 '45  
Story of a strike. Benjamin L. Masse. 74:146-48 N 10 '45; 74:180-81 N 17 '45  
Strike settlements. 74:625 Mr 23 '46  
Strike wave. 74:44 O 13 '45  
Strikes against consumers. 74:85 O 27 '45  
Strikes and rumors of strikes. 74:606 Mr 16 '46  
Washington front. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:61 O 20 '45; 74:285 D 15 '45  
See also Labor and Trade unions

**STURZO, Luigi**

Italy and the coming world. Review. 74:104-5 O 27 '45  
Population shifts in Europe. 74:391 Ja 5 '46

**SUAÑEZ at Nuremberg.** Richard E. Twohy.

74:402-4 Ja 12 '46

**SULLIVAN, A. M.**

Thing remembered; poem. 74:158-59 N 10 '45

**SULLIVAN, Kevin**

Song for a midnight. 74:410 Ja 12 '46

**SWANSON, Neil H.**

Perilous fight. Review. 74:386 Ja 5 '46

**SWEENEY, Francis**

Books and doors. 74:493-4 F 2 '46

**SWISHER, Carl Brent**

Growth of constitutional power in the United States. Review. 74:576 Mr 2 '46

**T**

**TAFT, Robert A.**

Morse vs. Taft. 74:436 Ja 19 '46

**TAIT, Samuel W.**

Wildcaters: an informal history of oil hunting in America. Review. 74:640 Mr 23 '46

**TAXATION**

Deep in the heart of taxes. Vernon J. Glenn. 74:571-2 Mr 2 '46  
1946 tax bill. 74:142 N 10 '45  
Reconversion taxes. 74:30 O 13 '45  
Tax relief. 74:113 N 3 '45  
Taxation of cooperatives. 74:228 D 1 '45  
What goes where? 74:477 F 2 '46

**THANKSGIVING.** 74:211 N 24 '45

**THEATRE**

Cure for hit-fever. Theophilus Lewis. 74:192 N 17 '45

**THEATRE reviews** (See DRAMAS, single works)

**THOMASINE, Sister M.**

Dollars for full production. 74:374-76 Ja 5 '46

**TOLERATION**

Brotherhood week. 74:525 F 16 '46

**TRADE UNIONS**

Aid to collective bargaining. 74:646 Mr 30 '46  
Behind the iron curtain. 74:646 Mr 30 '46  
CIO report on Russia. 74:645 Mr 30 '46  
Communists and the CIO. 74:623 Mr 16 '46  
Labor's finger in management's pie. Benjamin L. Masse. 74:482-84 F 2 '46

Mr. Lewis goes home. 74:505 F 9 '46

Reluctant superintendency. 74:606 Mr 16 '46

Union semantics. 74:451 Ja 26 '46

Unions for bosses. 74:634 Mr 23 '46

Washington front. 74:647 Mr 30 '46

See also "Labor" and "Strikes"

**TRENT, Council of.** 74:294 D 15 '45; 74:309 D 22 '45

**TRUMAN, Harry S.**

Good fellow days are over. Washington Front. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:145 N 10 '45  
Honeymoon ends. 74:29 O 13 '45  
Legislative program. Washington front. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:341 D 29 '45

Letter to President Harry S. Truman. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:397 Ja 12 '46

President and Congress. 74:380 Ja 5 '46

President on wages. 74:141 N 10 '45

President rebuffed. 74:477 F 2 '46

President to the country. 74:393 Ja 12 '46

State of the nation. 74:490 F 2 '46

**TWOHY, Richard E.**

Suarez at Nuremberg. 74:402-4 Ja 12 '46

Put that pistol down. Benjamin L. Masse. 74:530-31 F 16 '46

**TYDINGS, Millard E.**

Put that pistol down. Benjamin L. Masse. 74:530-31 F 16 '46

**U**

**UKRAINE**

Tragedy in the Ukraine. Charles Keenan. 74:377 Ja 5 '46

**UNITED MARITIME Authority**

Ships for food. 74:526 F 16 '46

**UNITED Nations**

America reports from London. 74:368 Ja 5 '46

"Anti-Soviet bloc." 74:16 O 6 '45

Attlee, Eden and the atom. 74:225 D 1 '45

"Between war and peace." 74:225 D 1 '45

Bon voyage. 74:396 Ja 12 '46

Cooperatives and the United Nations. 74:626 Mr 23 '46

Cultural cooperation. 74:72 O 20 '45

Eire looks at UNO. Robert A. Graham. 74:588-89 Mr 9 '46

Fear of the atom bomb. 74:449 Ja 26 '46

Indonesian proposal. 74:545 F 23 '46

Leadership in UNO. 74:515 F 9 '46

London organizes for peace. Robert A. Graham. 74:398-99 Ja 12 '46

Now the "United Nations." 74:114 N 3 '45

Price of real peace. 74:98 O 27 '45

Report from London. Robert A. Graham. 74:433 Ja 19 '46; 74:461 Ja 26 '46; 74:489 F 2 '46; 74:513 F 9 '46; 74:533 F 16 '46; 74:553 F 23 '46

Site for UNO. 74:525 F 16 '46

To know the United Nations. 74:199 N 24 '45

UNO adjourns. 74:575 Mr 2 '46

UNO affirms the freedoms. Robert A. Graham. 74:608-9 Mr 16 '46

**UNO in U.S.A.** 74:339 D 29 '45

UNO has uphill road. Robert A. Graham. 74:68-69 O 20 '45

UNO in December. 74:30 O 13 '45

UNO meets again. 74:654 Mr 30 '46

UNO participation act. 74:266 D 8 '45

UNO participation implemented. 74:169 N 17 '45

UNO to reconvene. 74:625 Mr 23 '46

Washington front. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:527 F 16 '46

**Workers in UNO.** 74:450 Ja 26 '46

**UNITED Nations Charter**

C.A.I.P. on atomic bomb. 74:197 N 24 '45

Cuba still dissents. 74:87 O 27 '45

(Reply to by Ignacio Gomez Robledo, S.J.) 74:195 N 17 '45

UNO Charter our only hope. William L. Lucey, S.J. 74:279 D 8 '45

**UNITED Nations Educational, scientific and cultural organization**

Intellectual cooperation. 74:143 N 10 '45

International realities. 74:546 F 23 '46

Pertinent protest. 74:143 N 10 '45

**UNITED Nations Food and Agricultural Administration**

Calm in UNRRA. 74:506 F 9 '46

Food for war-stricken campaign. 74:226 D 1 '45

"Invisible guest." 74:645 Mr 30 '46

Lent and relief. 74:586 Mr 9 '46

Morgan and the press. 74:434 Ja 19 '46

Politics in relief? 74:43 O 13 '45

Relief assured for 1946. 74:337 D 29 '45

Relief commitment fulfilled. 74:284 D 15 '45

Relief in the Far East. 74:337 D 29 '45

UNRRA and a free press. 74:97 O 27 '45

We cannot stop now. 74:210-11 N 24 '45

What have sacrifices cost? 74:645 Mr 30 '46

World food policy. 74:114 N 3 '45

**UNITED STATES**

Annus Mirabilis. 74:378 Ja 5 '46

Refugees and immigration. 74:366 Ja 5 '46

State of the nation. 74:490 F 2 '46

U. S. expects every man. 74:281 D 15 '45

Victory loan. 74:309 D 22 '45

**Congress**

Bad Congressional habit. 74:367 Ja 5 '46

Congress takes a hand. 74:449 Ja 26 '46

Constitution is at fault. Jerome G. Kerwin. 74:528-30 F 16 '46

FEPIC filibuster. 74:490 F 2 '46

Is the fault with the Constitution? Robert C. Hartnett. 74:610-11 Mr 16 '46

Item veto. 74:423 Ja 19 '46

President and Congress. 74:380 Ja 5 '46

President to the country. 74:393 Ja 12 '46

Washington front. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:300 Ja 5 '46

**Economic conditions**

Dollars for full production. Sister M. Thomasine. 74:374-76 Ja 5 '46

Modest proposal. 74:394 Ja 12 '46

Washington front. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:369 Ja 5 '46; 74:647 Mr 30 '46

(Reply to by Robert L. Otto) 74:475 Ja 26 '46

What about 1946? Benjamin L. Masse. 74:372-73 Ja 5 '46

**Economic relations**

Can we do business with Stalin? Richard E. Mulcahy. 74:258-60 D 8 '45

Loan to Britain. 74:322 D 22 '45

**Foreign policy**

Byrnes and Vandenberg. 74:614 Mr 16 '46

Italy and America. 74:282 D 13 '45

Mr. Churchill's proposals. Benjamin L. Masse. 74:628-29 Mr 23 '46

Policy on Spain. W. Eugene Shiels, S.J. 74:139 N 3 '45

Policy toward Spain. 74:3 O 6 '45

Price of withdrawal. 74:323-24 D 22 '45

Question of prudence. 74:3 O 6 '45

Spanish problem. John LaFarge. 74:63-31 Mr 23 '46

Two Januarys. 74:351-52 D 29 '45

UNO participation act. 74:266 D 8 '45

**Foreign relations**

Carlton Hayes and friendship for Spain. John LaFarge. 74:232-35 D 1 '45

Freedom in Spain. 74:566 Mr 2 '46

(Reply to by B. Ibanez) 74:643 Mr 23 '46; (by Msgr. William Barry) 74:643 Mr 23 '46

Intervention in Spain. 74:338 D 29 '45

Mr. Hurley's charges. 74:253 D 8 '45

Moscow agreements. 74:365 Ja 5 '46

Notes to Russia. 74:605 Mr 16 '46

Powers and Spain. 74:615 Mr 16 '46

Red rally at Madison Square. 74:14-15 O 6 '45

Relations with Spain. Edgar R. Smothers, S.J. 74:419 Ja 12 '46

Retreat on Yugoslavia. 74:366 Ja 5 '46

Washington front. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:257 D 8 '45; 74:527 F 16 '46

What are we for? 74:407 Ja 12 '46

Will to live. 74:406 Ja 12 '46



**UNITED STATES—Foreign Relations**  
(Continued)

**Politics and government**  
British Constitution for America? Robert M. LaFollette, Jr.; Jerry Voorhis; Gerard F. Yates, S.J. 74:650-52 Mr 30 '46  
Constitution is at fault. Jerome G. Kerwin, Moorhouse F. X. Millar, William R. Frasca, Robert C. Hartnett, Clarence J. Ryan. 74:528-30 F 16 '46  
(Reply to by Thomas K. Finletter) 74:583 Ma 2 '46  
Is the fault with the Constitution? Robert C. Hartnett 74:610-11 Mr 16 '46  
Washington. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:425 Ja 19 '46; 74:607 S 16 '46; 74:627 Mr 23 '46

**Reconstruction**  
Decentralization bill. 74:2 O 6 '45  
Reconversion program. 74:42-43 O 13 '45  
Scolding for Congress. 74:141 N 10 '45  
Washington front. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:5 O 6 '45; 74:607 Mr. 16 '46  
**UNITED STATES Steel Corporation**  
What goes here? 74:477 F 2 '46  
**UP THE INMAN**  
Joseph Dever. 74:101 O 27 '45

**V**  
**VAN DUSEN, Henry P.**  
Christian answer. Review. 74:49 O 13 '45  
**VANCE, Ethel**  
Winter meeting. Review. 74:640 Mr 23 '46  
**VANSITTART, Robert Gilbert, First Baron**  
Lord Vansittart and history. 74:451 Ja 26 '46  
**VARDOLAKIS, Mary**  
Gold in the street. Review. 74:413 Ja 12 '46  
**VAUGHAN, Joseph A.**  
California's disgrace. 74:8-9 O 6 '45  
(Reply to by Mollie E. Brown) 74:83 O 20 '45  
**VICTORY Loan.** 74:156 N 10 '45  
**VOORHIS, Jerry**  
British Constitution for America? 74:650-51 Mr 30 '46

**W**  
**WAGES**  
**United States**  
Break on auto wage front. 74:421 Ja 19 '46  
GM takes a walk. 74:407 Ja 12 '46  
New wage-price policy. 74:594 Mr 9 '46  
Pepper-Hook bill. 74:566 Mr 2 '46  
President on wages. 74:141 N 10 '45  
Profits and minimum wages. 74:170 N 17 '45  
Share the profits. 74:526 F 16 '46  
Wage-price dilemma. Benjamin L. Masse. 74:62 O 20 '45  
Wage-price formula. 74:575 Mr 2 '46  
Wages and prices. 74:525 F 16 '46  
Washington front. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:507 F 9 '46  
**WAGNER, Friedelind**  
Heritage of fire. Review. 74:274 D 8 '45

**WALDMAN, Milton**  
Elizabeth and Leicester. Review. 74:299 D 15 '45  
**WALE, H. G. Quaritch**  
Hope for democracy in Japan. 74:484-86 F 2 '46  
**WAR and morals.** John J. O'Connor. 74:206-8 N 24 '45  
**WAR emergency and relief committee.**  
Call to Catholics. 74:645 Mr 30 '46  
**WARD, Maissie**  
Splendor of the Rosary. Review. 74:131 N 3 '45  
**WAUGH, Evelyn**  
Brideshead revisited. Review. 74:411 Ja 12 '46  
Follow-up on Waugh. Harold C. Gardiner. 74:536-37 F 16 '46  
Waugh's awry critics. Harold C. Gardiner. 74:409-10 Ja 12 '46  
**WEBSTER, Samuel Charles**  
Mark Twain: business man. Review. 74:558 F 23 '46  
**WERDEMANN, Franz**  
German Catholics in war and peace. 74:508-9 F 9 '46  
**WERFEL, Franz**  
Poems. Review. 74:581 Mr 2 '46  
Star of the unborn. Review. 74:598 Mr 9 '46  
**WEST, Jessamyn**  
Friendly persuasion. Review. 74:414 Ja 12 '46  
**WESTPHALIA, Iowa**  
Sign by the side of the road. Pearl P. Puckett. 74:612-13 Mr 16 '46  
**WHEELER, Keith**  
We are the wounded. Review. 74:520 F 9 '46  
**WHITAKER, Arthur P.**  
Inter-American affairs, 1944. Review. 74:358 D 29 '45  
**WHITE, Max**  
In the blazing light. Review. 74:521 F 9 '46  
**WHITE, William L.**  
White's Russia. Joseph H. Wels. 74:55 O 13 '45  
**WILDMAN, John Hazard**  
Maurice Baring. 74:636-37 Mr 23 '46  
**WILLIAMS, Oscar**  
That's all that matters. Review. 74:187-88 N 17 '45  
**WILLIAMSON, Thames**  
Christine Roux. Review. 74:355 D 29 '45  
**WISDOM of making.** Sister M. Joselyn. 74:130 N 3 '45  
**WOMAN**  
Plus XII to women of Italy. 74:122-24 N 3 '45  
**WOOD, Grant**  
Art. Barry Byrne. 74:251 D 1 '45  
**WOODGATE, M. V.**  
Pascal and his sister Jacqueline. Review. 74:496 F 2 '46  
**WOOTTON, Barbara**  
Freedom under planning. Review. 74:538 F 16 '46

**WORLD Council of Churches**  
World Protestantism. 74:595 Mr 9 '46  
**WORLD Federation of Trade Unions**  
Workers in UNO. 74:450 Ja 26 '46  
**WORLD food outlook.** William J. Gibbons. 74:569-71 Mr 2 '46  
**WORLD War (1939-45)**  
Annus Mirabilis. 74:378 Ja 5 '46  
Civil rights in Hawaii. 74:586 Mr 9 '46  
How Australia was saved. Conrad H. Lanza. 74:346-45 D 29 '45  
Saga of Nijmegen. Willibald M. Ploechl. 74:552-3 F 23 '46  
Shipping scandal. 74:171 N 17 '45  
Surrender in Tokyo Bay. Paul L. O'Connor, S.J. 74:237 D 1 '45  
Underscorings. 74:567 Mr 2 '46  
War and morals. John J. O'Connor. 74:206-8 N 24 '45  
War memorials. 74:27 O 6 '45

**China**  
Peace comes to Shanghai. James F. Kearney. 74:511-13 F 9 '46  
**Occupation army**  
GI's want home. 74:462 Ja 26 '46  
No Yank SS men. 74:70-71 O 20 '45  
Washington front. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:453 Ja 26 '46

**Reconstruction**  
See also individual countries  
Call to Catholics. 74:645 Mr 30 '46

**War Crimes**  
In the matter of Yamashita. Charles Keenan. 74:632-33 Mr 23 '46  
Jus Gentium. Wilfrid Parsons. 74:313 D 22 '45  
Law above emotion. 74:340 D 29 '45  
Nuremberg trials. 74:238-39 D 1 '45  
Prosecutors at Nuremberg. 74:253 D 8 '45  
Suarez at Nuremberg. Richard E. Twohy. 74:402-4 Ja 12 '46  
**WORLD youth conference**  
Youth meets at London. 74:183 N 17 '45

**X-Y-Z**  
**X-rays**  
Golden jubilee of. V. C. Stechschulte. 74:150-51 N 10 '45  
**YAMASHITA, Tomoyuki**  
In the matter of Yamashita. Charles Keenan. 74:632-33 Mr 23 '46  
**YANG, Martin C.**  
Chinese village. Review. 74:271-72 D 8 '45  
**YATES, Gerard F.**  
British Constitution for America? 74:651-52 Mr 30 '46  
**YOSELOFF, Thomas**  
Fellow of infinite jest. Review. 74:271 D 8 '45  
**YOUTH**  
Reading need filled. 74:527 F 16 '46  
Youth meets at London. 74:183 N 17 '45  
**YUGOSLAVIA**  
Retreat on Yugoslavia. 74:366 Ja 5 '46  
Tito's triumph. 74:196 N 24 '45  
Yugoslav pastoral. 74:182-83 N 17 '45

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